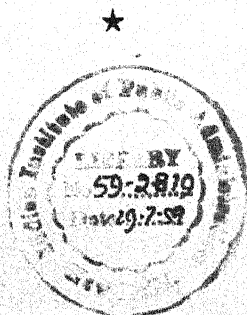


MORALE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES

REFERENCE ★

REPORT OF A CONFERENCE
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INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW DELHI

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PART I-REPORT

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(Chairman)

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6. Shri Durga Das,
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24. Shri T.N. Singh,
Member, Planning Commission.
25. Shri Sri Ram,
Industrialist.
26. Prof. N.K. Sidhanta,
Vice-Chancellor,
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27. Shri B. Shiva Rao,
Member, Rajya Sabha.
28. Shri M.K. Sinha,
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30. Shri C.M. Trivedi,
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MORALE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES

WORKING PAPER

INTRODUCTION

Since independent India is attempting to develop a Welfare State there has naturally been a great increase in the number and complexity of the governmental activities. There is need for the progressive improvement in the efficiency of administration since upon good administration depends to no small extent the success of the vital work of welfare-planning and development. The morale of the public personnel constitutes an important factor in the efficiency of any administration. It is, however, by no means an easy task in any country to foster and to maintain a high morale continuously and among all ranks of the public employees. Sustained as well as comprehensive efforts are, therefore, needed before success can be attained.

Morale is rather an intangible concept. It has been defined by Alexander Leighton as "the capacity of a group of people to pull together persistently and consistently in pursuit of a common purpose". But it should never be lost sight of that it is an inner possession of an individual as well as of a group, each interacting upon the other. In other words, it refers to a sense of 'belonging' and a sense of unity of purpose which may prevail among the employees of an organisation.

Morale is affected by a number of factors which may be summed up as :

- (a) Recruitment and training policies, terms of employment and working conditions.
- (b) Internal relationships, communications and human relations in an organisation.
- (c) The nature of the relations between the public employees on one hand and the legislators and ministers.
- (d) The attitude of the people towards the public servants.

The object of this Conference is to examine these factors in some detail in the Indian context and to explore ways and means for developing the requisite morale in the public services.

RECRUITMENT, TRAINING, TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT AND WORKING CONDITIONS

When fair play and merit are the guiding principles in the recruitment of staff, employees will have confidence in the management and this will be conducive to their morale. In India where recruitment to the public services is by Public Service Commissions and by open competition, there is general confidence in recruitment. But it is for consideration whether recruitment should not be in this fashion to more sectors of the public service than at present, and whether the methods themselves cannot be improved.

As for training, if the objective of the training programme is only the inculcation of skill or occupational knowledge among employees, it will not effect morale. Training can, however, be utilized for the improvement of morale if its objective is not only the inculcation of vocational skill but also the development of administrative leadership and making the rank and file of the employees conscious of the purpose of the organisation as well as of the place which it occupies in the community as a whole.

Inadequate salaries and retirement benefits create financial worries in the minds of employees in regard to the present as well as to the future. These worries will have a depressing effect upon the morale of employees which, in turn, will injure the administrative efficiency. Again, too high differentials within the salary structure tend to give rise to jealousy and caste-feeling among the employees of an organisation. This injury to the harmony of the group will have a bad repercussion upon morale. Moreover, if the outside movements in the wage structure do not get reflected in the salary structure in the long run, this will detract from the enthusiasm of public employees for their work.

Insecurity of tenure of job produces uncertainty in the minds of employees about their future. Obviously, they will not put their heart into their work if they are continuously to look for jobs elsewhere. Security of tenure, on the other hand, will foster loyalty to the organisation which will raise morale.

The provision of adequate incentives can go a long way towards the stimulation of morale among employees. Adequacy of promotion, fairness in evaluation of performance, e.g., through 'confidentials', and recognition of good work in other ways will make employees enthusiastic about their work. It is not always that Public Authorities pay adequate attention to this question of incentives for their employees, particularly for those in the lower rungs of the ladder. Again, measures for the welfare of the staff can be very helpful in raising morale. Any steps taken for the physical, mental, and emotional well-being of the employees will yield high dividends.

It may be added that if a management consults employees regarding condition of their work and the promotion of staff welfare, it will have a healthy effect on the mind of the workers as they will develop a feeling of 'belonging' to the organisation. The role of Whitleyism in Britain points to the value of joint consultations between management and employees.

The physical environment in which the work is carried on can also effect morale. Some recent studies point out that clean surroundings and the absence of physical stresses and strains are conducive to the maintenance of enthusiasm for work.

The following questions deserve discussion :

- (1) How far our present methods of recruitment in their different aspects are satisfactory? Do they ensure that the candidates are aware of the social value of the jobs sought?
- (2) What sort of orientation should be provided to a new employee in an organisation and what type of refresher courses are needed to develop executive leadership, and to make the rank and file aware of the changes in the programmes and purposes of the organisation?
- (3) Are measures needed to provide better emoluments, salary structures and adequate retirement benefits to the employees not only at the Central level, (including the public enterprises) but also at the State and local levels?
- (4) What can be done to provide permanency of tenure to the large number of temporary employees in public service?
- (5) Is the provision for staff welfare adequate in all types of Public Authorities?
- (6) To what extent have the staff committees set up by the Union Government been successful? Is there a need for extending the scope of their activities? Should such committees (with any modifications) be set up in other Public Authorities?
- (7) Are the physical environments in which the public employees work such as not to cause any undue stresses and strains on the minds and bodies of the employees?
- (8) Are there any special problems here in the sphere of public enterprises?

II

HUMAN RELATIONS AND INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

Within an administrative organisation the higher administrator is to direct and supervise a large number of employees. If the former does so invariably in an authoritarian fashion, morale will not tend to be stimulated. Fear of authority and morale do not go well together. On the other hand, if the administrator displays high qualities of leadership, morale among the employees will be encouraged. Leadership implies the capacity to inspire the followers to work together harmoniously and with enthusiasm for the good of the organisation. The employees will have respect for leadership if leader not only maintains high standards of integrity and devotion to duty but possesses a broad vision, a dynamic personality and a sympathetic heart which cares for the welfare of the followers. Moreover, the leader should be able to provide continuous guidance and encouragement to the followers so that the latter are not disheartened by day-to-day difficulties or any setbacks.

In an organisation, the existence of a feeling of casteism among the employees tends to obstruct the growth of morale. Such a feeling may exist between the general administrator and the specialist or between the higher personnel and the rank and file of employees. It is necessary in the interest of morale to remove emotional barriers between the various categories of employees in an organisation.

No less important in the field of morale is the effectiveness of the role of internal communications, both formal and informal, in a large-scale organisation. For instance, if the supervisors not only give clear and comprehensive instructions regarding the implementation of a programme of work but also try to enlighten the subordinates in various ways about the objectives of the programme, enthusiasm among the employees will naturally be stimulated as they will have some feeling of partnership in the execution of the tasks entrusted to them. Again, the same feeling of partnership will be fostered if the subordinates are encouraged to give suggestions and reactions in regard to the tasks upon which they are engaged or about to be engaged.

Some of the important questions which need discussion, therefore, are :

- (1) What measures are needed to develop administrative leadership in a public agency?
- (2) How should the relations between the higher personnel and the rank and file be adjusted so as to foster mutual confidence? In this connection the relationship between the generalist administrator and his technical head of the department may also be examined.
- (3) How should the feelings of casteism, which may be prevalent among the public employees, be removed or minimised?
- (4) How can the internal communications in an administrative organisation be improved so as to make the employees better informed about the purposes and programmes of the organisation?
- (5) What light does the experience of the defence forces and of the police organisation, (as well as in private business), with the problem of morale throw on the same problem in the civil services?

III

PUBLIC SERVANTS, LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS

In a parliamentary democracy there are three partners engaged on a common enterprise—"the endless adventure of governing men",—the legislators, ministers and civil servants. But the success of the partnership depends upon the proper understanding of their respective roles by the partners concerned. Any maladjustment in this partnership has a bearing, among other things, on the morale of the public personnel.

It has been pointed out that in a parliamentary democracy, the role of Parliament is not to govern but to act as the grand inquest of the nation. While passing laws, scrutinizing the ever-increasing delegated legislation made by departments, examining policies put forth by the ministers and scrutinizing the financial proposals of the Government, a good legislature should adopt a critical but constructive attitude towards the actions of the bureaucracy. The attempt should be to exercise an overall political control over administrative activities in the interest of democracy. This control can be exercised through parliamentary questions, debates, and the scrutiny by the various committees of the legislature.

The members of a legislature may, however, indulge in destructive and bitter criticism of bureaucracy because they suspect the *bona fides* of the latter or because they have been misinformed about any particular administrative activity or because they are thoroughly dissatisfied with the efficiency or honesty of the administration. Again, if the Opposition Parties in a legislature are too small to have any hope of acquiring political power, such parties may give vent to their feelings of frustration by even attacking the personnel of departments unnecessarily.

Bitter and exaggerated criticism of the public personnel depresses their morale. The need, therefore, is to make the legislators realistic and constructive in their attitude towards public personnel. At the same time, the latter are to cultivate respect for the views of Parliament since it represents the will of the people.

No less important in the field of morale is the question of the relationship between the legislators and civil servants individually. Some politicians try to exert political pulls and pressures directly upon a civil servant in order to get favourable treatment for one purpose or the other. They may go even to the extent of browbeating the latter. On the other hand, some civil servants do not show proper courtesy towards the representatives of the people. Again, inefficiency and delay on the part of civil servants can be an important cause of annoyance to the politicians. Any maladjustment in the relationship between the politicians and public servants will not only endanger political neutrality of the latter but will also have an adverse effect on administrative morale.

Constitutionally speaking, the formulation of policies is the business of the cabinet and individual ministers. But in actual practice, the higher civil servants play an important role as advisers in the formulation of policies. Not only this, but the civil servants have to chalk out detailed programmes of work under the policies. The higher personnel is also responsible for mobilising the resources of the department for the execution of the programmes and policies and to supervise the actual implementation of programmes of work by the middle-level and the lower staff, both at the headquarters and in field work. While doing so, the higher personnel is accountable to the minister.

The ministers on their part are to provide both political and administrative leadership to their departments. They are not only to formulate policies but have to inspire the higher personnel with the real purpose and the underlying spirit of such policies without, of course, interfering in the political neutrality of the personnel. Again, while they should delegate power to the higher civil servants regarding the formulation of programmes of work and their implementation, they have to keep a general eye on the working of the departments as a whole. Unnecessary and too much interference on their part in the details of administration will not be in the interest of the morale of the public personnel.

The minister should praise the work of the officers when such praise is due and admonish them when necessary. But it will not be in the interest of morale, if they indulge in public criticism of the actions of the departmental personnel.

A minister should defend the action of his departmental personnel both in the legislature and in public when he finds that the criticism is based upon the exaggeration or mis-information. Again, he should defend his departmental officers when the latter have done things only according to the instructions issued by the former and should accept the constitutional responsibility for the actions of his department.

It is obvious that the relationship between a minister and civil servants is both ultimate and delicate. If a minister tries to snub or criticise the civil servants unnecessarily, it will have an adverse effect upon the morale of the latter. At the same time, the minister, since he is constitutionally responsible both to the legislature and the people for the activities of his department, should have an effective control over the actions of the departmental personnel. Again, a minister should inspire loyalty among civil servants to the policies and programmes formulated by him or by the cabinet but, at the same time, he should neither browbeat civil servants into servility nor injure their political neutrality.

The following questions may be examined :

- (1) What measures are needed to make the legislators adopt a realistic and constructive attitude in their criticism of the actions of the civil servants?
- (2) What steps can be taken to avoid political pulls and pressures of the public personnel in its day-to-day work so that its can carry on their activities without fear or bias?
- (3) What measures can be taken to build a good equation between the ministers and higher civil servants, based upon mutual trust and appreciation without causing any injury to the political neutrality of the latter?
- (4) How could the higher civil servants develop sufficient political sensitivity without losing political neutrality so that they can understand fully the spirit, besides the letter, of the policies of the party in power?

IV

PUBLIC SERVANTS AND THE PUBLIC

If the public personnel enjoys good prestige in the community, it will have a stimulating effect upon morale. Of course, too much of prestige is also not desirable, and this will make a public service a caste within the community. On the other hand, if the public servants do not enjoy the confidence of the people and are subjected to criticism which is exaggerated or bitter, morale within the administration will be depressed.

There can be several reasons for maladjustments in the relationship between the public personnel and the people. The public servants may be discourteous to the common man either because of ruling complex which they may have developed or because they are so overworked as to have grown impatient. The higher officers may adopt a condescending or patronising attitude towards the members of the public which may be galling, particularly to the well educated ones. Again, if the public servants do not effectively and speedily deal with complaints, representations and applications of the common man, their prestige in the community will suffer. Thirdly, if the public servants do not enjoy a reputation for scrupulous honesty, their stock will be low in the eyes of the public. Fourthly, if the public servants indulge in favouritism and partiality while carrying on administrative activities, they will lose the trust of the people. Fifthly, if they are vague or evasive in their verbal replies or in their correspondence, the people will not think well of them.

At times, the public servants are misunderstood by the people. It may be because the public servants have not kept the people well-informed about the underlined purpose of the administrative activities. It may be that some of the vested interests try to distort the public opinion in regard to the activities of some public servants. Again, sometimes the press may indulge in bitter unprovoked attacks on public servants in order to produce sensational news for their readers or out of personal grievance against particular public servants.

In a developing democracy, like that of India, there is a great need for a proper understanding and mutual respect between the people and the public servants. This will not only make for more effective public co-operation without which public administration cannot accomplish much but it will also have a healthy effect upon the morale of public services.

Finally, morale of Government employees is influenced by some factors not fully controllable by Government activities, e.g., prestige of Government itself.

The following questions deserve examination :

- (1) What measures are needed for bringing about an emotional integration of the public services with the community?
- (2) What measures are needed to remove discourtesy on the part of the man sitting behind the official desk?
- (3) What can be done to remove unnecessary administrative delays and to deal effectively with public grievance?
- (4) What steps are needed to improve the reputation for integrity in public services?
- (5) What can be done to remove vagueness or evasiveness in official replies to the members of the public?
- (6) How can a better understanding be promoted between the public services and the press?

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

By

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT
(Union Minister for Home Affairs)

I am glad to be in your midst. I may, however, confess at the very outset that I have little to say. I have come only because I am deeply interested in this subject and because Prof. Menon wanted me to be here and also because I had not had an opportunity of seeing Shri Deshmukh for the last so many months, and I thought I will have a glimpse of him. So, I am here.

Well, the subject of 'Morale in the Public Services' is of profound interest and those who happen to be associated with administration are naturally interested in maintaining the highest standards and morale in the services. In our country, in spite of the vast changes that have taken place in the political, industrial and social fields, our system of administration still continues to be based on the old framework. The demands of democracy are exacting, and it requires a different approach towards public problems. The administrators and those connected with administration have to develop an outlook in tune with the changing social and economic objectives. Apart from a change in the political set-up of our country, the orbit of Government activities has been continuously and rapidly expanding. Now, the administration is called upon to minister to the vital needs of the people from hour to hour and day to day. We have charted out the course of our endeavours in the five year plans, and have pledged ourselves to the goal not only of a Welfare State but of a socialist commonwealth—socialist co-operative commonwealth.

So, the success of our efforts and the achievement of our objectives will necessarily depend to a large extent on the Services, their morale, efficiency and quality. The art of administration cannot be defined in terms of rules and regulations of the trade, and the concept of morale is still more intangible. Even if we cannot pinpoint it in some formulae, it nevertheless encompasses almost the entire field and every aspect of administration. It is affected by and in turn affects every aspect of administration. The methods of recruitment and training of public servants of the various grades and classes, and emoluments and salaries, the rules governing appointments and promotions and the way discipline is maintained and disciplinary proceedings are conducted, all are relevant, and have a bearing on the morale of the Services. But above all, morale is a matter of spirit, the quality of outlook, the way one approaches one's job. A high standard of morale is reflected in a high standard of efficiency, integrity and responsiveness. So, the problem of morale requires continuous study not merely mechanically but in a comprehensive way. We want that our Services should function efficiently, honestly and impartially. They have to carry a heavy burden and it can be lightened to a large extent if there is complete harmony and rapport between them and the people. In the past, the two functioned as separate groups. The distance between them has now to be eliminated completely.

In a democratic system, the Services have to function impartially and in a non-political way. But they must be accessible, they must be responsive and the people must feel that their position as masters is recognised by the Services. The morale would be high in the measure that the Services feel a real sense of participation in the building up of a new order. High morale is a function of the satisfaction that one feels

in doing one's job well—a sense of achievement, of fulfilment. The Government servants are not there merely to carry out the orders of their superiors in a mechanical way or to discharge their duties and to give of their experience and knowledge only in response to the inducement of a special allowance or status. If they feel that they are engaged in a great undertaking in partnership with others, from the Prime Minister, the Members of Parliament down to those who are serving in local bodies and also the entire population of the country, the morale would be high. It is an abiding inspiration to realise that we all are engaged in a common task and guided by a common purpose to raise the level of life in the country. So, we have to promote and strengthen a positive attitude to work in every office and administrative unit. For that, there has to be a greater degree of 'communication' between those at the top and those below them so that this feeling of partnership and sense of purpose may be transmitted to the lowest in the hierarchy. There has to be a constructive role of leadership at every level; remote control and impersonalisation do not make for high morale.

It has also to be borne in mind that our efficiency is rather low in terms of quality and quantity. We must be capable of doing more and better work than what we are doing at present. Inefficiency is catching and creates that atmosphere in which those who go through the motions of working are really indifferent to what the results of their labour are. So, along with efficiency there should be a feeling of adequacy that one has a job of work to do, some results to be achieved and a responsibility to discharge. If there is efficiency and a feeling of adequacy, then morale will be high.

Good morale communicates itself : it is infectious. If a fair number in any branch or office are inspired by the right ideals and attitudes, the others cannot remain indifferent. They are bound to feel the impulse and *elan*. In this lies the particular responsibility of those who have to supervise and guide. They have to influence the minds and not merely secure mechanical compliance with orders.

In order that morale may be properly maintained, I think, it is also desirable that there should not be too many hands in any office. If you have more men than you need then a given unit of work will inevitably be extended to fill the ample time available. Slackness will have leisure to occupy itself with, and the mind will dwell not on the job but on the fringes of details round the job. I think that work is done best when there is a sense of urgency and, even, strain about it. In public service and among public servants there is no greater enemy of morale than disinclination to work arising out of an amplitude of leisure. It is also desirable that one must find joy in one's work. Morale is essentially related more to the attitude of the mind than with other externals. If the mind gets into a rut and ceases to respond to the challenge of new tasks, then morale too gets, at least to some extent, enfeebled.

I offer my thanks to the Institute of Public Administration for having convened this Conference, and also thank Shri C.D. Deshmukh for having found the time for it. Your deliberations will be of great help to all of us. I shall be looking forward to your proposals, and I am sure that the decisions of your Conference or the weighty recommendations that will emerge from your discussions will be of great assistance to men like me who, though not experts, happen to be intimately associated with the vast field of administration today.

Chairman : (Shri C.D. Deshmukh)

I am sure, gentlemen, you would like me to thank Shri Govind Ballabh Pant for his wise words of guidance. It is not to be expected that he would be able to touch upon all the aspects that go to constitute morale in the public services, but he certainly has laid his finger on some very relevant topics, and, although we shall not

be formulating anything in the nature of proposals, we shall, I am sure, be shedding some light on almost every important aspect that goes to constitute morale. I hope, then, that he will have all the proceedings of the Conference carefully examined and then proceed perhaps to inform himself of the extent to which remedial action is called for.

We may or may not individually or even collectively, and certainly, not on this occasion, point out exactly what is happening. This is too big a task of measurement. Nevertheless, as he has said, you have to keep things continuously under review with reference to the attainment of certain objectives and in that respect Government is certainly more favourably placed than others because they are charged with the primary responsibility of the implementation of plans, which, by and large, means the attainment of targets. So, I hope that our deliberations may be able to point the way to certain aspects which need further investigation towards this process of implementation of plans, and therefore, toning up of the administration and we may rest assured that with his privileged position as Minister in charge of Home Affairs connected principally with matters of recruitment, and establishment and working conditions of Government employees and so on and so forth and with his indirect connection with similar spheres in the scope of the States, he will cast all his influence and all his experience in ensuring that improvement, that is needed, is brought about so that we are all able in some way or the other to participate in that consummation of our efforts, namely, an orderly implementation of our Plan.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Initiating a general discussion, the Chairman observed, "We are all aware that the whole success of our planning after it is formulated depends directly or indirectly on how we implement it. That involves the soundness and efficiency of administration and it also involves public co-operation, which, in its turn, at least partially, is influenced by the state of the administration. The subject of the Conference may not be as comprehensive but it does comprise the most vital part of the administration, especially in the implications in regard to the organisation of the affairs of the country.

"Every Conference should have some kind of ultimate purpose in view. We should not only consider the ingredients that constitute morale in the public services but also how to improve it, if low anywhere. Because, if we confine ourselves to that, then, maybe, we should be indulging in an academic exercise—although a very necessary and important academic exercise. Most of us are already aware, and others will discover, that this is a subject on which a great deal has been written, and the main elements which go to the formation or sustenance of morale in public services, have been ably analysed and stated both by academic people and people who have participated in some branch or the other of the public services. We should endeavour to project all this discussion towards, if possible, forming some kind of view in regard to how far these ingredients of morale in the public services exist in our present administrative apparatus and if our conclusion inclines to be that in several respects there are shortcomings, then we ought to devote some attention to find out the way to rectify the situation in each relevant aspect. If we do that, although we should all be ready to recognise that the remedies would not entirely be under the control of any section or indeed under the control of anybody in the short run, we shall at least have pointed out what the desiderata are, and then attention could be concentrated in bringing out the maximum rectification of the situation. I suppose in a country, working a form of western or parliamentary democracy, even indicating possible remedies has its value because it educates the ultimate arbiters of all action, namely, the electorate, and it is through a continuous process of bringing into light the failures or shortcomings that we shall hope to march forward in the attainment of our goals."

Endorsing the remarks made by the Chairman that the successful implementation of the planned economy depends, more or less, on how the administration functions, a participant said, "Our state is no longer a negative state but a positive state. Administration has to be considered not in isolation but in direct relation for the purpose for which state stands. Before independence, the state was merely a police state or a law and order state and all that was expected of the administrator was courage and consistency. But, today, the position has changed. He has not only to maintain those two rituals but in addition he has to think, he has to be imaginative, and he has to take some calculated risk. While considering the problem of morale in the public services, let us not forget that the Services are recruited from the same social stock from which the politicians and other public men are drawn. If there is a general improvement so far as the morale in public life is concerned, I am sure, it is bound to be reflected in the Services also.

"It is true, as the Chairman pointed out, that the administration is a subject on which many books have been written. In fact, during the course of last seventy-five or eighty years, a sort of philosophy has grown up and certain standards have been accepted. As far as the philosophy is concerned, more or less in our country, they

have been accepted and from that we have to start our discussion. These standards cannot be absolute, but they should constantly be under review. We have to consider whether we should go ahead with them or should depart from them and if we have to depart from them in what way that departure can be secured. That is the main problem. We have to consider in that light all problems connected with the Civil Service—from recruitment to retirement. Whatever may be the case, we must create a situation conducive to initial enthusiasm and hopeful atmosphere for the new entrant. The atmosphere should be such that each public servant should feel at the end of his career that he has been able to achieve something, that he has contributed something to the country in general and should not depart from the world with a feeling of frustration. By and large, if the morale of the public servants has deteriorated a little, a factor more or less beyond dispute, let us consider the wider aspect that the entire country is somewhat in the grip of a 'crisis of character', a phrase used recently by the Vice-President of the Indian Union. So, at this stage of general discussion, our main emphasis should be to find out as to what possible steps can be secured to get the best from the present generation of civil servants, who are actually serving now. In this context several fundamental questions may come up, e.g., whether a public servant should be allowed to join a private concern after his retirement, a question which is being debated at many quarters. So far as this question is concerned, my feeling is that in order to sustain an atmosphere of high morale, if not industry, at least employment should be nationalised and whosoever serves the private sector and whosoever serves the public sector, they must not be left in isolation. They must be inter-changeable, so that their wealth of experience could be utilised by the industry and *vice versa*, whenever there is a need.

"As regards recruitment, it should be made through open competitive examination and merit should be the only criterion for selection. But the trouble in our country is that some social justice has to be done to people belonging to Scheduled Castes/Tribes, backward classes and so on. Then, the question of language policy has cropped up, which, so far as the students of Bombay State are concerned, has, at least, ruined one generation of students. All these problems have to be considered while considering the question of recruitment."

The next speaker pointed out that "the Public Service Commissions take a very long time to fill up the vacancies advertised by them. A long time passes between the stage a post is advertised and the stage a candidate is selected for that post. I have also heard various Ministries/Departments of Government complaining about the length of time taken by the Public Service Commissions in filling up a particular vacancy.

"Although I have not heard any complaint about favouritism, so far as recruitment is concerned, but I believe, the present system of training for the new probationers, not only in the Administrative Services but for the Central Services also, does not seem to be very effective. Before independence, a great deal of attention used to be paid to the training of young officers under the guidance of his senior. They used to be posted with able senior officers in the districts and for some time fresh entrants only watched their senior officers doing the job. I believe, even now the same system could be evolved in attaching at least a handful of fresh entrants to senior officers.

✓ "So far as the terms of employment and working conditions are concerned, no real grievance should be allowed to exist either in the matter of promotion, posting or similar matters. It is absolutely necessary that working conditions should be such that we can expect to get the best out of the employees. Along with it there should be absolute security of service too. Merit should be the main criterion for promotion. And last but not the least, there should be appreciation of good work. So far as the public service is concerned, one of the most important causes of lowering the morale

of an employee is when he is condemned openly in Parliament or in the State Legislature for certain errors or failures. After all, the essence of ministerial responsibility is that civil servants, whatever their official actions may be, are responsible not to the Legislature but to a Minister. It is the Minister who should ultimately take full responsibility in the Legislature for actions of his civil servants. It is against the doctrine of ministerial responsibility to criticise or name officials in public. In this regard, much greater degree of education is necessary for the Ministers and legislators. If a civil servant, has to take decisions on innumerable number of cases every day, who on earth would say that sometimes a few mistakes will not be there. People are bound to make mistakes and this is one of the fundamental processes of learning. If these civil servants who are putting their best, who have adjusted themselves remarkably well to the changing conditions of the country, are challenged and condemned for their little errors or failures every now and then, then morale of the Services in general will never be improved. You have to trust people who are working for you and you must have confidence in them."

Another participant said, "At this stage of general discussion, we might consider as to what, if any, have been the causes which may have led to a decline in morale. A participant had referred to it in connection with the steps that may be necessary to improve morale or to ensure that it reaches an optimum level. We could perhaps look back to the last ten years. It is generally felt that there has been a decline in the morale of public services. What have been the underlying causes, the causes which have developed particularly in our working of democracy in the country? It is a question of relations between the public servants, the public men, the politicians and Ministers. It is also, perhaps, equally a question of the enthusiasm which an individual and a group can produce for the work which they are asked to discharge.

"Speaking generally of the public service, I should raise at some stage the problem of various statutory bodies which are being set up in the country. I am, at the moment, of course, interested in local authorities, the municipal corporations, where particularly this question of morale in the public services, in the context of local government in a democratic set-up, is creating a great deal of stress and strain, as also the relationship between the permanent Services and the elected representatives who act in a very different manner from a legislator, because a body of this nature is not purely legislative nor policy-making. It has got a much greater hand in actual administration at a higher level. The outlook of these democratically elected individuals, who view the scheme of administration with disgust or hostility, which is born essentially of a lack of appreciation of the scheme of Government, has tended everywhere to depress the public services. And this is particularly so because here we are operating in a field different altogether from that of the legislature and because this is a field where a great deal of social service, directly and intimately linking the public with the Services, is rendered and has to be rendered. This question has importance also because we are now embarking on the creation of a large number of statutory corporations for discharging vital services in the country."

One of the participants who had a very wide experience in the Army, suggested that the conference should discuss the question of discipline which means conception of duty in the context of morale. He further added, "Although conditions are very different, let us see for a moment how morale is maintained in the Army, in war and in peace and see whether it is possible to draw any lessons from the Army's experience.

"We know, if the morale in the Army is low, the soldier will not fight. What then causes a soldier to fight and face death. Maybe, it is for hope of glory. It is certainly not just for a few extra coins. Maybe, it is because of devotion to a cause, country or

a leader. I agree that glory appeals to some, decorations and promotions count for something, devotion to a cause counts for a great deal, particularly if it is fostered by mass propaganda. But please remember that a soldier in battle really loses morale and runs away when he discovers that he is the weaker and does not want to die. He conquers because he finds he is stronger or because you and I—his leaders—have made him feel stronger. Among the many reasons, why a man feels strong—I refer to individual as well as collective strength—I would give training and discipline a very high place.

“Now about peace. How do we maintain morale in peace? First, I would say that the administrator must not put undue reliance on the use of money, amenities or other financial aspects but build up a hardy organisation. This again is a matter of training. We know that many of our workers come from villages. So, when such man come to us then their wants should normally be simple and they should be accustomed to hardship, but what happens to them within a year of their joining us ?

“I realise that standards are constantly changing but we must see to it that the modern comparatively easy way of life does not eradicate the hard core of native toughness of our race, and in many ways we are a very tough race. Thirdly, whatever happens, an administrator himself must not lose morale, for morale is a very contagious thing and travels rapidly down the line.

“My next point is that the administrator must understand that in dealing with human beings, he is not dealing with creatures of logic. So, he must be prepared to face potential surprises in human behaviour and take the right action in meeting such surprises.”

The next speaker suggested that the conference should distinguish public service from private service. He said, “What is the difference between the two types of service ? Public services consist of employees like any other employees outside. The former, however, serve public bodies which have different functions from private organisations in that they are not governed by profit-making motives. Therefore, while an employee is, to a large extent, concerned with his pay, allowances and other conditions of service, so far as the public Services are concerned, the employee is not working only for the sake of money but is expected to possess a sense of duty towards the country. I do not know whether this can be consciously secured at the stage of training and probation and later during the course of actual service. This could, probably, be done by emphasising that public servants are not working only for money but something higher—that is for serving the country—and that they are not subordinate to any individual employer as such, but is part of a larger entity—the country and the State. For this purpose, it has to be considered whether a process of direct or indirect indoctrination is not necessary in order to establish loyalties, to define mission—perhaps, this is too general a phrase—of a Government servant, as a prerequisite for developing morale in the public services.”

Drawing attention to the last sentence of the first para of the Working Paper for the Conference to the effect that ‘sustained as well as comprehensive effort is needed before success can be attained in the field of morale in the public services’, a participant observed, “Morale is a significant part of the whole scheme of administration. As very ably remarked by the Chairman while initiating this general discussion, there has been in the last ten years and even earlier than independence, a lot of discussion about the ‘administrative efficiency’. In fact, several enquiry committees were appointed from time to time to go into this question. Somehow, actions suggested by these committees in their reports were not carried out. Even a few people in the Services themselves, who may be sincerely imbued with a desire to see that improvement in the

field of public administration in general, have felt terribly frustrated when they found that the previous feeling out of which these enquiry committee reports were called for have not been sustained at the subsequent stages. There is nothing more depressing than this kind of half-hearted approach. It may be that in our democracy where conventions have not been established over a long period of time, certain conventions have to come out by 'trial and error' method as in Britain. Therefore, we should in this Conference evolve ways and means whereby we establish conventions and administrators are given fair chances to implement them. I would like a machinery to be set up in the Government of India whereby this thing can receive due and proper attention. Mention has been made in the Working Paper that a small beginning seems to have been made by the Government of India in this direction by setting up the Organisation & Methods Division in the Cabinet Secretariat. As far as I am aware, its purpose is more limited than the subject of morale or the subject of improvement of administration as a whole would require. On the other hand, I am not very sure how much importance the Government are giving to the subject of O & M even. In order to tide over the situation, steps are needed at various levels."

At this stage, the Chairman wanted to know what contribution the O & M Division has been actually making which was set up on the basis of the recommendation made by Paul H. Appleby, a distinguished expert in the field of Public Administration. A participant, who had the first-hand knowledge of its working, said, "O & M has really confined itself very largely to what may be regarded as the regulatory aspect of the work. It started on the assumption that there is a great deal of wisdom in our existing rules and regulations, in the Secretariat manuals and so on, and much of the deficiencies in the Secretariat are due to the fact that these rules and regulations are not being intelligently followed. So, the first attempt was to try and enforce these rules and regulations; to see that they were followed intelligently. O & M, therefore, instituted a system of office inspection by higher officers like Under-Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, etc. They made provisions for a number of returns to be furnished by the sections which would indicate how the work was being done, how business was being disposed of. They prepared comparative charts of performance of not only the various sections, but of the Ministries, which showed at one place how the various Ministries were disposing of the work, which Ministry was doing well and which office was not doing so well.

"All this had some effect. It certainly created a consciousness among the Ministries and sections about the need to dispose of work quickly and expeditiously. It created a sense of competition also. Some offices which were chronically found at the bottom of the list became aware of the fact and tried to improve their position. But from this aspect, O & M should have gone on to the next one, namely, to try and improve the methods themselves. That step has not been really taken. On the other hand, a certain amount of work in that direction has been undertaken by the Economy Division of the Ministry of Finance. Of course, as their name indicates, they are concerned with the economy; that is their main objective. They have set up study teams which go round to the various Ministries, make work-studies, assess the work-load and ultimately try to determine what the number and the nature of staff should be in each particular office. They have been doing this now for some years and quite a large number of offices have been inspected by them. Whether that is an adequate discharge of the O & M function or not is a matter which should be considered, and also what relation the Economy Division of the Ministry of Finance should have with the O & M Division. As I have said the main objective of the Economy Division, and naturally their emphasis is on the economy. Perhaps, if the O & M Division takes over this work, there could be a greater emphasis on efficiency, though of course in the manner of speaking there is not much difference between economy and efficiency."

In this connection a participant who had experience in running the 'TWI' scheme in the Ministry of Labour and Employment for the last three years explained its objective

of training. In this scheme, trainees are divided into three groups, viz., scholars in organising the skill of manufacture, scholars in organising the methods of work and scholars in maintaining the relations. Each batch contains eight to ten supervisors, three from the Ministry of Labour, three from the Secretariat proper, one from Chief Adviser, Factories, and so on. The entire training is imparted by group discussion. The whole scheme is developed on the assumption that it develops the skill of supervision and the spirit of morale.

Raising a question of somewhat general interest in regard to the attitude of the public servant to the work that he does, a participant observed, "It is almost universally taken for granted in discussions about the public services in this country that the public servant has to be neutral. No one would like to suggest that the public servant should turn into a politician. But my own feeling is that this emphasis on neutrality, for a long time, has, perhaps, blurred the main question which confronts a Government which had decided to undertake a positive role in the economic life of the people. Between neutrality and indifference, the dividing line is very thin and I for one do not know whether our constant harping on neutrality does not make the public servant more apathetic to the basic purposes for which the Government are functioning? In order to maintain morale in the sense of enthusing the public servant, the work that he does would need to be based on something other than neutrality. I would not go to the extent of indoctrination, as suggested by a participant, but I think, as more and more we are to continue with the five year plans, the difference between different parties which will be called upon to bear the responsibility for running the affairs of the country, is itself likely to be considerably reduced. As a result, emphasis would definitely shift from neutrality to the achievement of a more positive purpose in the working of the Government. So, we should ensure that public servants, at the stage of recruitment or subsequently in the course of the training period, not only get deeply interested in the work that they do but develop a faith in the work that they do and then, perhaps, the morale of the Services will rise high.

"Second, I have a feeling that public services in our country are manned primarily by the urban sections of the population while the plan that we are trying to put through and the series of plans which will follow, are directed primarily to making an impact on the rural life of the community. I do not know whether the kind of faith that we would like to see in the public services would be generated among the people who are really not so much at one with the interests of the bulk of the population. It is true, of course, that as education advances there will be greater and greater degree of urbanisation, and since in the public services you get educated sections, they have to be perhaps more urban in their ideal and outlook than the rest of the countrymen. But I always feel that there is this sort of an initial hiatus between the public services and the major section of the population. I do not know how this gap could be reduced, whether the methods of recruitment could be suitably altered in order to see that there is not much emphasis on urbanisation, so that there is a grater realisation of the needs of the rural population among the Services."

Another participant, having about forty years of experience in the profession of journalism going back to 1913, felt that morale is totally absent from the public services. He said, "The meaning of the word 'morale' has no application to the conditions of public services. The public service used to be like milk in its initial stages, and is now milk and water. The outlook, today, if I may put it this way, is that everybody is looking for a job, not for membership of a public service, and is engaged in a careerism, not in a career. The situation has arisen due to economic factors as government service is still the most prized position for an individual because he receives, as a public servant, far greater value than the average economic value of an Indian. I am not saying that he is well paid, neither saying that he draws a good salary. What I am saying is,

if you take the average income of an Indian public servant, in whatever category he may be, he possesses a very prized position, and it is that thing that leads to all the evils that follow in recruitment of public servants and in the conduct of public servants. It is a form of social security of a very high value, and that is why you get communalism, regionalism, casteism, etc., because everybody wants to be a Government servant. These five million people are having the most prized position.

"Now two things make democracy a success :

- (i) Incorruptibility of the middle class, and
- (ii) The efficiency and integrity of a public servant.

"Today, conditions do not exist that contribute to either. So, we have to find out what destroys these two conditions.

"Another point about public service is delegation of authority in the administration. Delegation of authority, in my view, is totally lacking today. I am saying this deliberately. Morale in the public services cannot be attained without proper delegation of authority. Further, when you want to build up morale in the public service, you must provide some objective in life—whether you call it a mission, idealism or something else. But there is an objective which a person has when he enters service, and not merely the objective of getting employment, and not merely the objective of getting a career, but the sense of fulfilment. Now, unless that sense of fulfilment comes among the public servants, the basic urge will be lacking. How are we going to provide it?

"Another important thing that we should consider is discipline and this may be brought about by environment in a family, by environment in a school, by environment in an office, and all that. I remember in 1918 a good Assistant worked up to 7 P.M.; a good Superintendent up to 6 P.M., an Under Secretary up to 5 P.M., a Secretary, up to 4 P.M., and an Executive Councillor up to lunch hours. But now it is quite the reverse. Nowadays, a Minister works till 4 P.M., a Secretary till 8 P.M., an Under-Secretary till 6 P.M., a Superintendent till 6 P.M., and an Assistant till lunch hours. Further, discipline is totally lacking. That is where you reach in considering where the public servant stands, where his ideal stands, and where his idea of service stands. So, we should put these four fundamental questions : Are we paying our public servants for what they are worth? Are we getting from them outturn for the money we are paying them? Are they incorruptible? Have they any sense of fulfilment? If we can find answers to these questions, in my view, you can find answers for the success of democracy in India."

In the opinion of another participant the Conference should consider as to what extent delay in the disposal of personal cases tends to depress the morale of the employees? He said, "We are aware that promotional cases, disciplinary cases, cases relating to retirement benefits, etc., take a long time to get decided. These certainly cause a depressing effect on the morale of Government employees. In addition, we might also create a machinery for undertaking attitude surveys of the employees. What is really wrong is also a matter for careful psychological analysis, and I thought we might take into consideration to what extent attitude surveys are necessary in an organisation for finding out the maladies which are disturbing the minds of employees."

Agreeing with the suggestion made by the earlier speaker about the attitude surveys, a participant said, "If we are going to put the stress on implementation and removing defects, we should have some quantitative estimates of the factors which go to raise or reduce morale. If we are to really analyse the situation, it does seem to me that something very precise must be done in terms of an assessment of priorities.

and, I think, something further can be done to give more precise content to different factors which make for raising or lowering morale. I think it is true, as has been said by Lord Kelvin, that 'You do not know much about a thing unless you try to measure it'.

"In many countries today attempts are now being made to measure morale. Theoretically, of course, the problem is very different, as different as measuring the utility in economics. Nevertheless, you have developed in economics a technique by preferences, consumer behaviour, marketing research and found out how exactly the consumers behave. About three years ago, the Indian Institute of Public Opinion tried this method in Delhi and Calcutta and found that it gave good results. That is to say, we could quantitatively assess whether a man preferred security to higher salary, whether he liked to work with his superiors, whether this factor was more important than that and so on. This problem of an evaluation quantitatively of the different factors which go to make morale by the methods of attitude surveys are now enforced in the United States and the U.K."

Another participant said, "We might do well to go somewhat deeply to define what morale is. There may be a tendency to prescribe remedies for something which we have not really defined sufficiently. I think there is a real danger there. For one thing, there is danger of tagging the word 'morale' on to the wrong thing. We might tag it on to the concept of efficiency.

"Second, morale in the public services is not a thing apart and, I think, we ought to give our attention to morale in the public services as a part and parcel of the total morale of the people of the country. I do not think you can separate the two. My morale is as good as the morale of the people around me and as bad as that of the people around me. I am personally very conscious of that. I, therefore, think we ought to give a good deal of attention to go deeper into the fundamentals of morale.

"Third, and it arises out of the second point, we should define a little more what we mean by a common purpose. If one of the definitions of morale is the capacity of the group or a characteristic of a group for pulling together persistently in pursuit of a common purpose, I think, we are today in India historically placed at a point where the common purpose has a bearing upon morale. We should try and define that. There is a great deal of lip service paid to a common purpose without sufficient understanding or acceptance of anything that really amounts to a common purpose. How common should the purpose be? What should be the degree of acceptance? How should these degrees of acceptance demonstrate themselves? These are some of the important factors bearing upon morale.

"Finally, I think our discussions might apply themselves considerably to the importance of decentralisation. Decentralised working has an important bearing on morale. We should also go in detail into the aspect of training. One participant has rightly stressed that. I think in the matter of training, particularly in public services—the modes and objectives of training, content of training, method of training, etc., get lost sight of. Then, perhaps, we should give some attention to a feature which is historical and, therefore, rather peculiarly characteristic of us, namely, the fact that until eleven years ago the administration, by and large, and, therefore, the total body of the public services on the one hand and the political life of the country on the other, were mutually virgin. They were practically virgin to each other, and how far have eleven years been adequate to overcome the mutual virginity?

"In addition, I would, at this stage of general discussion, stress one more important fact in regard to public services and that is, do we not depend too much on the public servant and trust him too little? This is a pathetic feature of public life in India.

Should it not be exactly the other way? Frankly, the public servant today, by and large, is exercising more power than he ever did under the old regime."

On this, a participant asked, "Is it in quantity or quality?"

The answer was, "There is a feeling today that a public servant is exercising more power with less responsibility. There is a clear feeling that a number of senior officials in the field and not so much in Secretariat offices tend to exercise more powers than they ever did and they tend to shoulder less of responsibility. I think this has a very important bearing on morale.

"Finally, my own experience has demonstrated to me at least that morale can change extremely rapidly. The rapidity with which an individual or a group of people or the whole community can become either demoralised or strengthen its morale has been quite startling. It is a peculiar feature that has been brought home to anyone who has had to do with field administration, as I have in maintaining law and order, in running districts and things like that. The whole tempo, the whole atmosphere, the whole morale, can change almost overnight. This is a feature which is worth pondering upon and discussing."

Drawing attention to a factor which affects the morale, particularly in the higher Civil Services, a participant said, "The terms of employment and working conditions in relation to higher Civil Services really do not connote so much their scales of pay or even their immediate conditions of work in the same sense as they would do probably with workers in a factory. But a very important factor here I think, which has, of course, been mentioned in the Working Paper for the Conference, is prospect of advancement. We are all agreed, and I say this on the basis of my experience for three years in the post, which I have just relinquished as Establishment Officer, that nothing affects the morale of these people—people at certain levels—I do not mean top Civil Service people alone, but the middle level people also—as the prospects of advancement which they have. We are generally agreed, and a great deal of stress has been laid in recent years, on merit being the only criterion for such advancement. Theoretically, of course, nothing can be said against this. But in practice, and I think this Conference may like to discuss this matter in some detail—this assessment and evaluation of merit as a constant factor which does either reduce or perhaps, in some cases, strengthen morale. It has been my personal experience that there is no satisfactory yardstick of merit. Perhaps in very rare cases where some people are bound to be really outstanding in nature—and that quality is readily recognised—the fact that such a person should advance in service is readily conceded, but where the differences are not so very marked and where we have to work on data which are admittedly unsatisfactory, advancement from post to post or from grade to grade on the basis of somebody's assessment of merit, made however objectively, tends to depress morale.

"I do not suggest that this assessment is not arrived at objectively. Perhaps in the great majority of cases it is, and every effort is made to make it objective but the data on which the assessment is made are so imperfect that any decision taken on this basis tends to upset the morale. I do not say that this is the only or even the most important factor in morale, but I draw attention to it and suggest that while we may generally accept merit as the sole criterion for promotion and advancement, we might discuss in a little more detail as to how this merit should actually be assessed."

A participant, who had a vast experience in a very senior capacity in the office of the Comptroller & Auditor-General of India, explaining how delay in deciding personal problems, e.g., payment of salaries, leave salaries, provident fund, pension, gratuity, etc., have a depressing effect on the morale of public servants, said, "People in position are

conscious and are concerned that improvements are urgently required in respect of these matters. Not only delays in payment of their dues should be avoided but rules should be framed in such a manner that speedy justice is given to them. Where a particular Government servant is found to be negligent in holding up such cases without appropriate reasons, he should be punished. Improvements in the rules of payment of pension, for example, are at present receiving highest attention.

"A tendency has grown on the part of Government and quasi-Government offices to pass the buck on to the other person if you ask for any information. This has given rise to a feeling that Government employees do not do whatever they are expected to do. This kind of atmosphere is more so at the lower levels which consist of largest numbers in Government employment. If everybody does his duty honestly, conscientiously, diligently, then they would be appreciated undoubtedly by everyone.

"With regard to the criticism of actions of Government servants in Audit Reports, I wish to observe that auditors do not criticise mere errors of judgment. Of course, they sometimes question the wisdom of an expenditure. If Government lose fifty thousand rupees in a particular deal or contract, what the Auditor-General is more particular about is that there is no *mala fide* intention and that the Government servant concerned has taken the step with all possible wisdom and exercising his judgment. If there is an error of judgment, it is not treated as so serious a fault, but if there is a *mala fide* intention then definitely it is a thing to be taken cognisance of. Public servants, merely because there is a criticism in Audit Report, need not be afraid of doing their duty so long as the intentions are not *mala fide*."

The Chairman raising a query at this stage, said, "The question of delay in the matter of payment of dues not only affects the morale of the people but it also shows a degree of inefficiency on the part of the employees dealing with these cases. Does it not affect the morale of such persons? Why should there be that kind of indifference? The officers should be able to realise what happens to a fellow officer when he is without pay for, say, seven months."

Answering the query of the Chairman, the speaker said, "Taking for example the question of pension, we have to follow the rules that are hundred years old and in applying these rules even with the most genuine desire of rendering help sometimes some questions are raised, some points are to be verified and this takes time. And, of course, the general complaint has been that people do not take sufficient interest in the matters. At the same time, the rules are themselves responsible for increasing a certain amount of work. There is a cell in the office of the Comptroller & Auditor-General primarily dealing with the matters of delay, etc., in settling the dues. Suitable action is taken, if after proper enquiry it is found that somebody in the Audit Department is responsible. I feel, on the whole, there is a tendency on the part of Government employees to blame the Audit Department. Actually, the whole administration requires to be toned up."

The Chairman enquired whether there was any possibility of the rules being simplified.

The speaker informed that it was under active consideration of the Government of India.

The Chairman further enquired if the system was such as to enable the Government to fix the responsibility of those responsible for the delay? Could there be any system by which temporary authorisation can be given at some higher level and the officer

himself indemnified against any subsequent losses that might be discovered by the final settlement of the case?

The answer with regard to first question was, "that sometimes delay may occur in an administrative office in respect of according a sanction. It may also occur in the matter of authorising payments and so on. According to my experience, I found that most of the cases of delay happened due to indifference on the part of employees responsible for preferring their claims in time and in accordance with prescribed procedure. With regard to the second question, at the moment there is a procedure by which an administrative Ministry may give, with the sanction of the Finance Ministry, instruction to the Accountant-General saying that 'you may pay this much provisionally'."

Another participant who had a vast experience in the police administration, said in the context of morale in the police force, "Even though we have attained self-government, the distrust of the police force still continues. And this distrust naturally breeds lowering of morale. The distrust does not only come from the people but unfortunately even from the other Services and even from Government, if I may say so. And, time has come when a lot of thinking has to be done with regard to the police organisation generally. We have a bad heritage, no doubt. The police and the people were always pulling in the opposite directions because the police were created by the predecessor Government as an army for occupation.

"The main purpose of this organisation, which the Government had in view, was really to garrison the country and the more important aspect of police work, namely, the prevention and detection of crime. As a result, the police had grown in this country in a manner which would really not be suited to any democracy, and time has come when the whole force ought to be reorganised in order to serve as an effective police force of a Welfare State.

"There are certain handicaps and even though efforts are being made practically in every State—as police is really a State subject and not a Central subject—to reorganise the police to suit it for a democratic country, yet we have not made much headway. The handicaps are indeed very great and I would like to enumerate some of the various handicaps under which the police forces, even though their leaders have been trying to do their best to remodel them, have suffered. The most common criticism against police today is about the various police firings that have occurred in the country. The number of police firings that we have had in this country since 1947 would be about eight to ten times more than what they were before 1942. What is the reason for it? Personally, I am of the opinion that it is not the police who are responsible for these many firings. My own experience shows that every police man who happens to open fire does so most reluctantly. No one can say that the police men are more trigger-happy today than they were previously. Probably it is not being realised that in many cases the police officer has had to open fire to kill his own relatives in the process. Now, is it justified to condemn the police every time? The Government sometimes assume that the police have done excesses, more or less, in many cases and as a result the lowering of the morale has been considerable. These public criticisms, even before the man is judged guilty or otherwise, have gone to lower the morale to such an extent that police men, of late at any rate, had in many instances asked for written orders to open fire. This is the state of morale the police have been driven to, and the law and order situation in the country, in the industrial areas, the agricultural holdings or elsewhere, is such today that very strong but sympathetic action, at the same time, is necessary. In order not to open fire, the police man must be equipped and trained in a manner that the morale is kept extremely high and a few brickbats falling on his head may

not make him lose his balance. To bring his morale to the correct pitch, a lot of heart-searching is necessary. Unfortunately, in spite of these twelve years of rule, that heart-searching has not been done.

"We have, in our State, just set up a Police Commission to go into this matter and other matters connected with the police administration. But the subject has assumed such proportions that it should be tackled really at all-India level, because some far-reaching legislations may have to be undertaken. Personally, I am of the view that the laws are antiquated. The laws with which police are generally concerned are the Indian Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code and the Law of Evidence. All these three codifications, although excellent codifications in themselves, are really in many respects not suited to the modern times, and something in that regard has to be done. If any amendment to these laws is necessary, then that has necessarily to be undertaken by the Central Government.

"I now come to the question of the handicaps under which we are working. The main handicap that at present we are faced with is this public criticism, made not only in the Press or from the political platform but more particularly in some of the State legislatures. Every single act of the police, more or less, if it is a major act, comes in either for a debate or an interpellation in the Assembly and sometimes the manner in which these debates are conducted and the interpellations made—may be in good faith—tend to lower the morale of the Services. In our State a question was asked about an officer in charge of a police station having hushed up a case in which a girl had been abducted and later murdered. There was a lot of applause when this criticism was made and the member making the criticism was very strong and, if I may so say, even abusive. When we made enquiries we found that not only had the girl not been murdered but when she was abducted, the police within twenty-four hours of this abduction recovered the girl and within three days of it put the accused on trial. The police could do nothing more, but unfortunately, the damage was done. The abuse that was hurled on the police was displayed so prominently in the Press that the contradiction or even the reply of the Government spokesman which was given a very minor place and which nobody read was of little avail; mostly people had read that the police hushed up a murder case and could not do anything. Now, this is the kind of thing that is happening in the country, and certainly in my State. I am not sure of what is happening in the other States, but I dare say that my neighbouring States suffer from similar disadvantages.

"Can a force of say 30,000 in my State be administered well when such criticisms are made? Any parliamentary procedure would deprecate this kind of debate. According to strict parliamentary decorum, such questions should not be asked that might smack of insinuation or which might cause unnecessary embarrassment in the sense that it may cause unjustified demoralisation. Such things have, unfortunately to my mind, resulted in a good deal of lowering the morale of the force and personally I feel that lawfully all such debates in State legislatures must somehow be controlled. Most of our representatives, particularly in the State legislatures, if I may say so, do not have that real understanding that is necessary and due to lack of that understanding unfortunate things are being said and done in a manner which would never raise the morale of any Service.

"That is so far with regard to the people. Now with regard to the force itself, recently, there has been a considerable lowering of standard in the officers of the force. The officers must be real leaders of men. The selection has to be done, not merely on the basis of competitive examinations, much less on the basis of one's scholastic ability. It does not lay any stress on that quality, I mean the quality of leadership, which a police officer must necessarily possess. In my State, I have Assistant Superintendents of Police

coming to me for the last ten years and not one of them can play one single outdoor game efficiently. When I was recruited, it was unthinkable for a police officer not to play games because these were the best means to know each other and thus build up the morale of the force.

"Field Marshal Slim in one of his books has very succinctly described what morale should be in a force. The highest state of morale has been defined by this eminent soldier 'as the state of mind when the men are wanting to do what they are to do, whatsoever the odds against it'. I think that is the real test or criterion to judge the morale of the men.

"Sir William Slim says that high morale can be built by good leadership of persons having qualities, including that of confidence. Unfortunately, our men are not getting that confidence in our leadership and that is the most crucial point that we have to consider and the fault lies with the leaders. There is another aspect of it. The leadership of the force is being assailed so much that it is impossible for the leader to keep his head above water. The Press has its own reasons, some of the politicians have theirs and the force has its own to doubt their leadership. Some say that instead of taking the force as a whole, or the Government as a whole, the Press and the legislature attack the individual. Many have deprecated this kind of criticism against an individual officer but unfortunately this is being done, both in the Press and from the platform as also on the floor of the legislature.

"The next point Field Marshal William Slim says is that good administration includes man-management, conditions of service, discipline, physical effort and welfare. These are very important aspects of our administration, particularly affecting the police and each of these factors needs a very comprehensive study which unfortunately is not being done at present.

A participant who belongs to the Central Secretariat Service thought that the morale of the employees of the Central Secretariat had been fairly high, excepting a little deterioration in this respect after independence. He said, "Three principal factors are responsible for the lowering of morale. They are :

- (i) Haphazard mode of recruitment of staff at lower levels;
- (ii) Rapid expansion in the activities of the Government which were not their concern prior to independence and thereby their employees came into direct contact with the general public; and
- (iii) Rising cost of living and the Government's failure to compensate their employees in sufficient measure commensurate with the constant rise in prices of necessities of life.

"After independence, due to all-round expansion in the activities of the Government, a large number of people were recruited on a temporary basis at lower levels without making adequate arrangements for their pre-entry or post-entry training with the result that inefficiency in the Services persists. Although under the temporary service rules and other rules sufficient provision has been made for security of tenure of temporary employees, a large number of posts continues to be temporary for a long period. Even when posts are declared permanent, incumbents thereof are not confirmed for a long time and thereby they are deprived of the benefits accruing from permanency. Such employees should either be confirmed or replaced and not allowed to continue in service if found unsuitable.

"The problem of low morale is more so at lower levels of the State Government employees. One often wonders why the employees of the Central and the State

Governments having practically the same qualifications and experience and assignment of similar duties, are paid differently?

"The need for bringing about a proper adjustment in the relationship between the public and the public servants is very important. Complaints of discourtesy on the part of public servants should be dealt with promptly at the higher level. If necessary, surprise visits to offices *in cognito* may be undertaken by the Minister and senior officers to check up how their staff behave with the public, how requests and complaints are attended to. The language of official communications to the public should be courteous and brief, especially when somebody's request is being turned down. Such replies should be seen by senior officials before they are issued over the signatures of juniors.

"With regard to the relations with the Press, as soon as a criticism of any public servant is voiced in the Press, either in the editorial columns or through letters to the editor, or as a news item, the correct position as to its facts should be explained by means of a Press note by the department concerned. In case the criticism is well-founded and justified, immediate steps should be taken to appoint an enquiry committee to investigate the matter and appropriate disciplinary action taken against the delinquent officers and the Press informed of the same.

"Members of the public, although in the majority of cases they themselves are responsible for corruption in public services, feel that enough is not being done to eradicate it. Promulgation of disciplinary rules and establishment of vigilance units may be able to reduce the menace from the Services but these can never eradicate it totally. This problem is directly linked with the national character. Speaking some time back at the Institute of Public Administration with regard to corruption amongst the British Civil Servants, Sir Paul Sinker, Director-General of the British Council, said : 'Corruption is generally non-existent in the U.K. Careful recruitment and training is partly responsible for this. In view of the corrupt recruitment practices prevalent till the early 19th century, it is difficult to say that the national character of British people accounts for the absence of corruption. However, the extraordinary change in the general morality in the U.K. during the last sixty years or so, has contributed considerably towards the present praiseworthy state of affairs. A careful and scrupulous audit check (and not detailed rules and regulations restricting discretion) and effective public opinion are also partly responsible for the high level of honesty and integrity of the British Civil Servants. Another very important factor is the existence of a strong professional pride in the civil services itself. This pride has its roots in the career-aspect of the civil service. Short-term arrangements in civil service are likely to disrupt its career character and pave way for spoils system'.

"Sir Paul was of the view that the Church of England contributed in a large measure to eradicate corruption from the public services. We, in India, do not have a common religion and ours being a secular State no religious instructions can be given in the schools and colleges. But if some sort of non-denominational instructions as to morality could be imparted to our boys and girls at the school stage, it may be possible for us to tackle the problem of corruption from our Services after some time, if not in the immediate future. Corruption in the lower ranks is also due to lower rates of pay and allowances and lack of other amenities of life."

TOPIC I

RECRUITMENT, TRAINING, TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT AND WORKING CONDITIONS

From the Working Paper :

When fair play and merit are the guiding principles in the recruitment of staff, employees will have confidence in the management and this will be conducive to their morale. In India, where recruitment to the public services is by Public Service Commissions and by open competition, there is general confidence in recruitment. But it is for consideration whether recruitment should not be in this fashion to more sectors of the public service than at present, and whether the methods themselves cannot be improved.

As for training, if the objective of the training programme is only the inculcation of skill or occupational knowledge among employees, it will not effect morale. Training can, however, be utilized for the improvement of morale if its objective is not only the inculcation of vocational skill but also the development of administrative leadership and making the rank and file of the employees conscious of the purpose of the organisation as well as of the place which it occupies in the community as a whole.

Inadequate salaries and retirement benefits create financial worries in the minds of employees in regard to the present as well as to the future. These worries will have a depressing effect upon the morale of employees which, in turn, will injure the administrative efficiency. Again, too high differentials within the salary structure tend to give rise to jealousy and caste-feeling among the employees of an organisation. This injury to the harmony of the group will have a bad repercussion upon morale. Moreover, if the outside movements in the wage structure do not get reflected in the salary structure in the long run, this will detract from the enthusiasm of public employees for their work.

Insecurity of tenure of job produces uncertainty in the minds of employees about their future. Obviously, they will not put their heart into their work if they are continuously to look for jobs elsewhere. Security of tenure, on the other hand, will foster loyalty to the organisation which will raise morale.

The provision of adequate incentives can go a long way towards the stimulation of morale among employees. Adequacy of promotion, fairness in evaluation of performance, e.g., through 'confidentials', and recognition of good work in other ways will make employees enthusiastic about their work. It is not always that Public Authorities pay adequate attention to this question of incentives for their employees, particularly for those in the lower rungs of the ladder. Again, measures for the welfare of the staff can be very helpful in raising morale. Any steps taken for the physical, mental, and emotional well-being of the employees will yield high dividends.

It may be added that if a management consults employees regarding condition of their work and the promotion of staff welfare, it will have a healthy effect on the mind of the workers as they will develop a feeling of 'belonging' to the organisation. The role of Whitleyism in Britain points to the value of joint consultations between management and employees.

The physical environment in which the work is carried on can also affect morale. Some recent studies point out that clean surroundings and the absence of physical stresses and strains are conducive to the maintenance of enthusiasm for work.

The following questions deserve discussion :

- (1) How far our present methods of recruitment in their different aspects are satisfactory? Do they ensure that the candidates are aware of the social value of the jobs sought?
- (2) What sort of orientation should be provided to a new employee in an organisation and what type of refresher courses are needed to develop executive leadership, and to make the rank and file aware of the changes in the programmes and purposes of the organisation?
- (3) Are measures needed to provide better emoluments, salary structures and adequate retirement benefits to the employees not only at the Central level, (including the public enterprises) but also at the State and local levels?
- (4) What can be done to provide permanency of tenure to the large number of temporary employees in public service?
- (5) Is the provision for staff welfare adequate in all types of Public Authorities?
- (6) To what extent have the staff committees set up by the Union Government been successful? Is there a need for extending the scope of their activities? Should such committees (with any modifications) be set up in other Public Authorities?
- (7) Are the physical environments in which the public employees work such as not to cause any undue stresses and strains on the minds and bodies of the employees?
- (8) Are there any special problems here in the sphere of public enterprises?

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The Chairman, while inviting discussion on the topic, suggested that his topic might also include points that came up for consideration in the earlier discussion, for instance, the classes from which the recruits come, their attitude, their understanding of the purpose of what they are doing, etc.

A participant observed that "With regard to the question of recruitment, the point was made that the system of reservations by groups may tend to create two results; first, it may introduce a certain weaker element in the Services and second, it might also act as a slight damper to the expectations of young men who may have the merit otherwise to gain admission to the public services. It has also been suggested that there is perhaps a bias in our recruitment system towards the urban areas. I do not know whether statistically that is so. It is quite true, of course, that most of those who enter the Services at all levels are those who possess a certain degree of education. Today, higher education is largely gained in the urban areas. I believe that to a very large extent the people do have the urges in the smaller places in the rural areas and I doubt whether there is any valid point that we need consider about this alleged bias in recruitment system towards urban areas."

At this stage, the Chairman mentioned that according to census statistics, every place with 5,000 population was taken as an urban area.

Continuing, the speaker said, "I feel that we should not overemphasise the implications of the so-called urban areas with 5,000 or 10,000 population. On the whole, there is probably very little in the suggestion that our entire administration tends to have started from cities and towns so as to ignore the realities of situation in the rural areas. I do not feel that this is a point which needs to be gone into so far as recruitment goes. But, some further thought should be given to the aspect of reservations, because this is a temporary phase as the system of reservations for certain classes is a temporary one. Rural bias is of course a factor in its applicability to certain Services, in fact in the great majority of our administrative services. As regards district administration, this rural bias is clear from the very nature of service. Young entrants who join as Assistant Collector or Deputy Collector or Assistant Superintendent of Police spend their early years in the rural areas, in rural development and community development and a good part of their time is actually spent in handling rural problems. If, unfortunately, there is a feeling that there is an urban bias, we will have to look a little further whether our whole administration, with its pre-occupation with rural development, does not give adequate thought to the issues arising on the recruitment side.

"On the problem of training, so far, our attempts have been to provide re-orientation on administrative matters only at certain higher levels of the Services. We have training classes, we have periods of probation. I am not sure whether we have made any serious attempts to provide the same training facilities to other categories of public personnel at the initial stage of their recruitment. If we can evolve a method whereby these public servants at their initial stage of entry into the Service are given certain guidance, certain leads both as regards their position as public servants and as regards their objectives of public service. Today, unfortunately, it happens that at certain levels of public service, an employee is pitched for certain fixed duties. He, perhaps, is not well-prepared for these duties. A more broad-based system of training of public servants at different levels is necessary with the object that he might gain a true idea of purpose, a certain cohesion in regard to methods of work, the approach to problems and so on."

Another participant said, "I think there is not much we can do in the field of recruitment to enhance the morale of the public services because we have adopted fairly satisfactory methods of recruitment at least in the higher echelons of the Services. The basic thing that should be kept in mind is that all should have a sense of fairness and no one should get an easier entry into the Service."

While disagreeing with the previous speaker, a participant said, "In Bombay, English was included in the secondary stage for three years; before that it was six years. The result is that candidates who qualify in the competitive examination are absolutely below the standard so far as English is concerned. They also find it difficult to compete with others, resulting in complete demoralisation. This Conference should suggest that either the candidates should be asked to write their answer papers in their mother-tongue and after recruitment, a qualifying examination may be held in Hindi or any other language that may be prescribed, or, as an alternative, each State should be given a fixed quota for recruitment to the Services. Otherwise, certain States who have not taken to Hindi will decidedly be in a more advantageous position than others who have done so."

Another participant opined, "A State-wise allocation of recruitment would definitely lead to a perpetuation of the system of reservation."

The Chairman observed, "The two different questions are—one is the place of English in competitive examinations and the other is examining candidates in their

own regional language and then expecting them to be proficient separately in departmental examinations in the official language that is prescribed. That is something which will apply to the entire country, but this particular problem arises because only one State Government refuses to do what all other State Governments are doing, that is to say, prescribing English for four years only in their high school stage or in their secondary education stage, while every other State has six and Madras has seven years of teaching of English. Now, it is not as if educational experts have not pointed this out to the Government of the day. Discontented with this sort of arrangement, Headmasters in the State have passed resolutions at different Seminars and they have even gone to the extent of saying that they would undertake in their own the teaching of pupils in English; but at one time it was forbidden in this State to teach English even outside office hours or in the same building. Obviously, there is something more than academic reasoning at play here. There may be a feeling that this long-period teaching in English is wasted on the majority of the students. In any case, it seems to me, that it is for the Government concerned to take a decision. In other words, even if you take the position that you are imposing a handicap on a section of their students it is a decision deliberately taken by a State Government and I do not see what our Conference can tell them except to say 'well, it may be that your own boys are suffering because of your wrong judgment'.

"The Kunzru Report has stated that English will have to be retained not as a medium but certainly as a means of communication or expression for keeping in touch with the literary and scientific work in the world outside; that you cannot develop even your own languages unless you know English. That has been stated over and over again, but the final decision rests at the moment with the Government and at a later stage with the electorate of the State which chooses the Government."

The next speaker stated, "It seems to me that Public Service Commission procedure has been accepted probably on the assumption that the work of Government is of such a mechanical kind that you are only to have a certain degree of technical competence and then wherever a person is thrown he will be able to do the job properly. In the context of the Plan, and the general emphasis on leadership as mentioned by a participant, we cannot adopt such a view with regard to the recruitment to the higher Civil Services. In the old days, it may have been so. Now you expect the public servant to assume certain leadership in the community which need not necessarily be linked up with having secured a certain place among the first so many who are recruited to the Civil Services. There seems to be a general feeling that reservation has to be adopted. There may be another aspect of recruitment which may actually lead to some kind of regionalisation, if I may put it that way."

The Chairman pointed out that the Indian Police Service had regionalisation although that system was no more in existence.

On this, the previous speaker pointed out that the reservation as such need not be frowned upon.

The Chairman further said that the speaker's argument was based on the fact that the present system of selection through the Public Service Commission did not automatically secure regional quota, apart from whatever the reason may be.

On this, the answer of the speaker was that "I am not in favour of the regional quota. This aspect of the question that the public servant is not required to do a mechanical duty but to assume leadership in the area in which he is located might introduce a different basis of recruitment from what has been the prevailing practice

hitherto. I do not know whether you could call it a quota system. It would have to be some sort of competition with a regional approach; some sort of a combination of these two."

One member observed that "A south Indian coming to Bombay is very likely to have least contact even if he be there for ten or fifteen years because Government activities are so multifarious. You may not call it a quota system, but I am willing to call it so. The future administrator has much more to do with the people than with the procedure of red-tape."

The Chairman, while summing up the discussion on this particular point of quota system of recruitment, said, "Public co-operation as well as the feeling that you are useful is lightened if you are working in an environment which you naturally understand or you are a part and parcel of it and therefore, recruitment arrangement should pay some attention to ensuring that for the administration of any regional affairs, at least a significant proportion of people should be there who have emerged out of that environment."

On this particular point, a participant was of the opinion that the same result was being achieved today in varying degrees by the method of allocation of the officers of the All-India Services.

The Chairman again stressed the point by saying, "I do not know what the statistics are, but what is said is that in certain States where English is weak, people are not well-represented in their home States in the higher executive levels, or in the Defence Services. It would appear as if it has not been studied, but there is a feeling that people suffer not because they lack ability, but because they lack knowledge of English and they cannot express themselves properly in that language and that should not be a sufficient reason for exclusion or, shall we say, depriving the country of bright people who are likely to work very much more effectively in their own surroundings and therefore it becomes a question of morale."

Another participant totally disagreed with the idea of regional consideration for recruitment to public services because he thought it would have a damaging effect on the spirit of national unity in administration. He said, "If all the higher civil servants in a State belong to States outside, then they would not have that emotional attachment to the environment. Who are the people who go up for promotion to the 25% quota of the State Services for the All-India Services? I would not mind if the quota is raised from 25% to 33%, but so far as direct recruitment is concerned, it is both in the interest of merit and objectivity that all-India basis is maintained."

Clarifying further, the Chairman pointed out that "The point is that you do not judge merit. All that the previous participant said is that it is not that Bombay seems to lack ability in a way other States have ability. The average expectation is that Bombay will produce its own percentage of good people as other States are producing. The system of education for Bombay may not be measurably inferior to any other system. Nevertheless, if merely by asking questions of somebody who is not familiar with English you are dissatisfied and reject him, then you may be keeping out some bright people."

The Chairman further added, "The question of language is not of language and literature. It is a question of medium of expression in which you convince people that you have imbibed knowledge or learning and that you are able to apply it. Now, this question is an instance of the way it has cropped up but it will no doubt creep in more extensively later on as soon as English is replaced by Hindi. Then you will

have a far wider number of people who will say that they were kept out, whatever their educational qualifications are, because they could not express well any abstract ideas in Hindi. If that is going to happen, then, only Hindi-knowing people will be selected in the public services—they may be good people—but, then, will the country not suffer by the exclusion of other people who may be equally good or better with the attainments of their knowledge if they could be selected by the proper means? In other words, it would be a question whether you hold an examination in a regional tongue in which these people have been instructed and you will remember that even in universities now the tendency is gradually to replace English by the regional language. If you assume the position that the candidates will be examined in their own regional languages, then the question arises—who is to examine them? Then, what should be the common measure of judgment by which you find that one candidate is better than another candidate, because it would be almost hopeless to expect that you will have a body of examiners who will be at ease in all the fourteen regional languages of India. Well, then, you have Tamil-speaking people as examiners for Tamil boys, you will also have Hindi-speaking examiners for Hindi-speaking boys and so on. But, then, how to equate those marks? That will lead you to another trouble.

“Shall we add in that case and assume statistically that all the States, more or less, in their higher ranges, are probably throwing up the same sort of quality. History has also shown in India that exploits and achievements are not confined to any part of India. Then, if you say that the University Grants Commission will be there to ensure a certain amount of co-ordination and maintenance of standards on a uniform level, you may also assume that the current education standards are more or less uniform. If you assume these, then, why don't you proceed to the next logical step and say that no great harm will be done to the fabric of our administration if we were to assign quotas, and it would, from one point of view—if one were to go down to these details, although we are not concerned with them—probably mean that the States, which today do not get the chance because English is employed, will get the chance. Today, what is happening is that, I think, everywhere we will find that the South is over-represented because of its old association with English; whatever the reasons may be and it may be that the States which are not properly represented will come to be represented because in that case they will send equally good boys for the examination. That is the implication of all this.”

The previous participant, continuing, remarked, “Steps will have to be taken to improve the present system of recruitment in general as our recruitment procedures are very much out of date. The Public Service Commission should develop within themselves a research unit to follow up the effectiveness of procedures from various angles. It should undertake some sort of follow-up investigation to see as to what extent these procedures are in keeping with the spirit of the times as well as with the new researches in regard to the testing of a man's personality and merit.”

A participant belonging to the Police Service, said, “The system of reservation has affected the morale of the people in my service quite considerably. For the last twenty years, if I may say so, appointments in the lower ranks have been made on the basis of reservations. First, the British Government thought that a large percentage of appointments in the Police must go to ex-servicemen irrespective of their qualifications. They need only possess the minimum qualifications that are required. This went on from 1940 to 1948. Then when our own Government came into power, they laid down that the political sufferers must be recruited if they possessed the minimum qualifications. There was no question of competition and that went on again for another seven years. In a period of seventeen years, the basis of recruitment, for the most part, has been more or less on the basis of reservation. How can any one expect efficiency from a force where recruitment has been done for quite a considerable time on this basis?

So, sooner we get rid of this idea of reservation, the better it is. At the present moment, this idea is operating in relation to backward communities. Here again, 25% of the vacancies—I forgot the exact percentage, but a fair percentage—are to be filled by people who are really not competent to fill these posts. They need to possess the minimum qualifications and then they are not to compete with those who have the maximum qualifications. The result is that we get a fair percentage of 'duds'. That is probably happening in the All-India Services also.

"With regard to recruitment in the higher Services, I should only refer to the Police, since I have some experience of it. Unfortunately, as I said earlier, there is considerable bias on scholastic attainments. Formerly, what we had was that the interview preceded the examination, and the *viva voce* test eliminated those who could not make good leaders of men. Those who were considered good leaders alone were allowed to take the competitive examination. That was a very good basis of selection. Now, what is happening is that everyone is made to appear at a written test. He may poll very high marks in the written papers but in the *viva voce*, he may poll just the pass marks. Even then, he is bound to come in. As a result, we are generally not getting the right type of recruits in the officers' class. Therefore, there should be some change in this method of recruitment."

Referring to recruitment of political sufferers as raised by the above speaker, a participant said, "I do not know what has been the percentage in your State, but no political sufferer had been recruited in higher administrative services in Bombay and Punjab. The only concession given to them was that of age. Moreover, if at all they have been recruited, my own view is that their recruitment must have added to the morale of the Service. After all, they were the people who were, so to say, actuated by the best of motives. I fail to see how their recruitment through Government agencies with a little age concession could have affected the morale. Just as defence personnel, who were engaged during the war have been absorbed in the various administrative Services and if their presence had not affected the efficiency or the morale, I do not understand how the other one could?"

Answering, the earlier speaker stated, "In my State, if the recruitment of political sufferers was done we would have no objection to reservations being confined to fully qualified candidates. It was not only concession with regard to age. The fact was that orders were quite clear both by the predecessor and the present Government what minimum qualifications were required and if they fulfilled those they should be preferred to those who possessed the maximum qualifications. I do not mean to say that they were no good or that some consideration should not have been shown to fighters of freedom. Regarding recruitment in the rank of sub-inspector, which is, I consider, a very important rank in the Police Service, if it is said that a man who is matriculate should be deemed to be I.A. merely because he is an ex-Serviceman, I do not think it is quite appropriate. Now, that is what has happened. After the war, people who passed intermediate were deemed to be graduates, people who had passed matriculation were deemed to have passed the Intermediate Arts. People who were non-matriculantes and had read up to the Second Class, now the 9th class, were deemed to be matriculates. We want investigating officers with trained minds and a certain educational background in order that they could ferret out information while investigating a case."

With regard to the principles of recruitment prevalent in the Government of India, a participant observed, "In three or four Ministries particularly, appointments are not frequently advertised through the usual channel of the U.P.S.C., but temporary arrangements are made to fill them up. I am not referring to the point that unduly large number of people are kept on temporary establishment, which, of course, affects the morale.

The present procedure of appointments made on temporary basis is that they are referred to the U.P.S.C. after a long period and sometimes, after a couple of years, the post is advertised asking for the qualifications of the person who has been appointed temporarily as the essential qualifications for the post advertised. Now, that is not a fair recruitment as the same person's qualifications then become the standard for the entire country. Ordinarily, the person appointed on temporary basis fulfils these requirements and is offered the appointment by the U.P.S.C. There is a constant feeling in the country that this injustice is growing. The matter should be looked into carefully."

Inviting attention of the members of the Conference to matters relating to staff welfare, work of staff committees and the question of possible improvements in physical environments, a participant said, "I had taken up these matters with the Prime Minister over a year ago and I had invited his attention to the demoralising effect, on both sides of problems affecting large numbers of people, say, for instance of Posts and Telegraphs, remaining unsolved. That was a particular occasion on which I took it up with the Prime Minister, when the Posts and Telegraphs employees confined themselves to making representations. Very little notice was taken of the representations and it was only when they threatened a strike, the first reaction of the Government was to declare that such a strike would be illegal."

At this stage, the Chairman pointed out that "The Pay Commission would be considering a great many things which are involved in this particular topic. It would be helpful if participants say that they feel that in some of these matters definite schemes of improvement are necessary and point out that this or that is the way to bring about the improvement because we have really to get down to concrete directions in which we feel that improvement is necessary and feasible."

Continuing, the participant said, "The sense of frustration that prevails among the rank and file of public servants, not only in such departments as Posts and Telegraphs, Railways and the several branches of the Central Board of Revenue but also in the Secretariat, is widespread. That I ascribe to the fact that there is no machinery for the prompt and sympathetic consideration of problems as they arise. There is a feeling to which several unions have given expression and to which a reference was made in the Report of the First Pay Commission which I have quoted in one of the papers I have circulated, that is, the prevalence of almost universal distrust and the sense of despair amongst public servants. Now, I have brought that point really as a background to items five and six that we are considering under this topic.

"Regarding the question of welfare and Staff Committees, I may claim some credit for having brought these into existence, because I raised this matter specifically with the Prime Minister a year ago and pointed out that it was only the establishment of some such machinery, functioning in the spirit of the Whitley Councils in Britain, that would really provide a long-term solution for all the problems as they arise, whether it be in our Secretariat here or in the Secretariats of the State Governments or in aggregations of large number of public servants in places like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. I sent a memorandum to him on those lines and ultimately the decision was in favour of having Staff Committees and appointing Welfare Officers in the various Ministries of the Central Government. These were started about fifteen months ago. I have been making unofficial and informal enquiries as to the way they were functioning, but not having obtained any information, I finally put down a question in the last Session of the Rajya Sabha. The answer was the usual one that information was being collected and would be supplied to me in due course. Now, whether that information is so voluminous and needs time to collect or whether it is very little that it needs microscopic examination, I do not know. But, from such information as I have been able to

get from the members of Staff Committees, from amongst the rank and file, I must say that there is a great deal of disappointment about the way that these Committees have been functioning. The Whitley Councils in Great Britain were started rather in a modest way after the First World War, and the experience of the first ten years or so was somewhat discouraging; but thereafter, these Councils have extended their jurisdiction and their authority and I have no doubt in my mind that unless our Staff Committees expand in the same way and reflect the same spirit, namely, willingness to consider the problems of the rank and file, as they arise, in a spirit of complete partnership and of sympathy and with a human touch, these Committees are not going to fulfil any positive purpose. There is a proverb in Tamil which, rendered in English is something like this: it was said in respect of a potter who was inexperienced in his profession. He took some clay and set out to make an image of 'Phillayar' (Ganesha) but being inexperienced he produced a monkey. I have been reminded of that proverb as I think as to the way our Staff Committees are working. I tried to obtain some information as to what the Welfare Officers are doing. I was told that they were busy collecting information. That was about seven months ago, but since then I have heard nothing. I tried to keep in touch with the Joint Secretary or the Additional Secretary, (I do not know), in the Home Ministry in charge of these problems but had not been able to contact him. I make this point strongly because we may discuss all these problems. It may be difficult to have a definition of morale, but it is not difficult to have a definition of demoralisation and there is widespread demoralisation in the Secretariat here and in establishments like the Customs House and the Income-Tax and the Excise Departments in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. We feel that we are doing very little. I was hoping that there would be something like an annual meeting of the Staff Committees which the Prime Minister and the Home Minister would attend and put some life into these Committees, but nothing is being done. They are purely advisory bodies and what is discouraging is that when a Secretary to a Ministry presides over a Staff Committee meeting, he agrees with some of the suggestions that may be put forward on behalf of the rank and file, but when he comes back to his office, he feels that as Secretary to the Ministry he must find reasons why the particular things that have been suggested to him in the Staff Committee meeting should not be done. At any rate, that was the information given to me by members of one or two Staff Committees. If that be the general spirit, I see no hope at all of these Committees doing some sort of work satisfactorily."

Answering the queries regarding the temporary appointments made by the departments, and later the advertisements for long-term appointments being adapted to suit the particular candidates in office, and secondly about the Staff Committees and staff welfare, a participant said, "In the U.P.S.C. Consultation Regulations, it is laid down that a Ministry of a Government can make an appointment, provided the appointment is not likely to last for more than a year. Those are the words used. It is true that this clause is sometimes interpreted, in our opinion, wrongly, and the Home Ministry have pointed it out several times, but still sometimes this clause is interpreted to mean that for the first year the appointment can be made without consultation with the U.P.S.C., and it is only after the year has expired that a consultation becomes necessary. That is not so. The correct interpretation is that even at the outset, the Ministry concerned must make up their mind and be in a position to say that a vacancy is not likely to last for more than a year. Only then they can make the appointment without consulting the U.P.S.C. On the other hand, if they think that the vacancy is likely to last for more than a year, they cannot make an appointment even for six months, without consulting the U.P.S.C. Though this is the correct interpretation which has been brought to the notice of the Ministries several times, I cannot say that it is uniformly followed. There is still, perhaps, an impression in some quarters that for the first year, irrespective of the duration of the post, the Ministry or the Government can make the appointment. But, on the second half of the same proposition, I do not

think it is quite correct to say that later on when that year expires and when they have to go to the U.P.S.C., the advertisements are drafted in a manner to suit the particular candidates already in office. In the matter of drafting the advertisement, the final say is perhaps with the Ministry, but not the entire say, and the U.P.S.C. themselves have to be satisfied. Thus, even in drafting the advertisement, the U.P.S.C. has to be consulted and the U.P.S.C. do make observations which lead to modification of certain qualifications, and I am sure that if in a particular case an advertisement is drafted only to suit a particular candidate, without sufficient consideration of the duties and responsibilities of the post, the U.P.S.C. would point out that and would successfully intervene to make the necessary changes in the advertisement."

A participant enquired, "Is it a fact that the U.P.S.C. take so long to deal with the applications that the Departments of Government are put to embarrassment and therefore some sort of temporary arrangement becomes inevitable and is it not a problem to be tackled with the U.P.S.C. to deal more promptly with the applications which come to them?"

Answering, the speaker said, "On this last point, there is a general ruling of the Finance Ministry which says that 80% of the posts which are regarded as long-term in duration should be made permanent. Then again, the Finance Ministry have issued an order to that effect a long time back but I cannot say to what extent it has been implemented because still there are a large number of purely temporary posts.

"About the question of delay, that is very much in the mind of the Home Ministry and also the U.P.S.C. The delay really arises, apart from the fact that the U.P.S.C. tend to be over-congested with the work of selection, due to the fact that they have their procedure for advertisements. Advertisement has to be issued and a certain period of notice has to be given, about three or four weeks, for submitting applications. Then, of course, they have to go through the usual procedure of interview for which again a long notice has to be given. There are two ways in which this delay can be eliminated—one is to strengthen the U.P.S.C. machinery by increasing the number of members and increasing the staff strength. I think that has been done, though there are vacancies still in membership. The staff has also been strengthened. The other thing which I would like to mention is that the U.P.S.C. have generally agreed, in suitable cases, not to insist on advertisement for every isolated vacancy that is notified to them. For instance, particularly in technical fields, they did this for the Bhilai Steel Plant before Bhilai Steel Plant organisation was converted into a private limited company, when recruitment was being done by Government. They have done this in other cases also. What they do is to call for advertisements not fixing any particular date, nor with a view to any particular vacancy or a group of vacancies. The notice for applications is general and the U.P.S.C. have an understanding with the Universities to send up names of qualified candidates. These names are registered in the U.P.S.C. as and when they come up, and the candidates are continuously interviewed. Lists of suitable candidates are prepared so that as and when vacancies are notified to them, the U.P.S.C. can nominate straightaway from these lists. That often eliminates delay. This method has been adopted to the extent possible, but it does not meet the requirements in all cases because all posts are not classified. But, wherever posts are grouped and classified, this procedure can easily be adopted. This is a system which the U.P.S.C. have in principle, at any rate, adopted for application wherever possible.

"Finally, about the staff welfare and the Staff Committees. I personally share, to some extent, the disappointment about these Staff Committees. But, I hope that they are merely having the initial teething troubles. I had an occasion when I was in England in 1952, to study this Whitley Council system. The difference between their system and ours is that they have very strong service associations and the staff side is

represented by nominees of these service associations. They speak with one voice. That is the first important feature of the British Whitley Councils. Secondly, they have remarkable degree of moderation and restraint. The restraint with which they formulate their demands and discuss matters with the Government side is, to my mind, remarkable. I am afraid we have not been able to reach that standard yet. Our difficulty is that we have a great variety and large number of service associations, sometimes supporting conflicting demands. So, we have not been able to get any one or a group of representatives nominated jointly by service associations. Our Staff Committees are constituted by elected representatives of the members of the staff and they do not speak with one voice. It is also true that on our official side there have been lapses and the recommendations of the Staff Committees have not been given due weight. I have been the Chairman of the Home Ministry Staff Council. The Home Ministry have adopted this convention that before any recommendation of the Staff Council is turned down, the Chairman of the Staff Council will be consulted. This will give an opportunity to the Chairman to say why he supported a particular recommendation and also to exert his influence on his colleagues to get a favourable order on a particular thing. This practice is, however, not general, as far as I know, in all Ministries."

A participant enquired whether these Staff Councils were putting up individual demands or grievances or whether they related to something of a general nature and in that case was it not possible to refer them to other Staff Councils? What was the position in regard to such cases that are brought to the notice of a particular council?

In reply to the query, the speaker observed that "There are conflicting demands amongst the members of the Staff Councils. The demands of one group may not be supported by the members of other groups. The conflict is not between, shall I say, the Home Ministry or the W. H. & S. Ministry or any other Ministry. Each Ministry have a number of Services. Even in these Services there are various groups. Take, for instance, stenographers. They may want a higher percentage of promotions from stenographers to the Central Secretariat Service. The Central Secretariat Service people of that level may want more promotions for themselves. Hence, the conflict. We try to resolve this sort of conflict, as far as possible, and try to work out some common recommendations. It is not really a question of referring it to other Staff Councils."

With regard to staff welfare in the Police Service, a participant observed, "In our State, we have had a profitable experience as to how this organization can work. We set up a welfare board and advised all our Superintendents of Police to hold what we call the Police Sabhas. We did want to have a common platform for the lower and higher ranks. We found that the associations did not work well as mentioned by the previous participant and there was no moderation in the demands made by those associations. They were very extravagant in their demands which were almost impossible to fulfil. We, therefore, established the Police Sabhas. The S.P. held this Sabha and there the subordinate and superior officers were made to talk about all matters relating to collective welfare, (not about individual cases) like, housing conditions, other welfare measures, medical facilities and so on and this has had a very good result. As a matter of fact, Bihar, which saw a Police Mutiny in 1946-47 escaped it even though there were Police strikes in the neighbouring States, mainly because of these steps and the welfare organisations. The lower ranks must have some say about their future and therefore some kind of a Sabha at various levels appears to be very necessary".

Making observations in regard to the examination system as a method of recruitment in the Public Service Commission, a participant said, "The examination for the most part is a replica of the essay-type examination which is conducted by the Universities and other educational institutions. Then, what is the idea of holding examinations

practically in the same manner as have been conducted by the University? A graduate of the University in Arts or Science takes these examinations of the Public Service Commission and so far as the examination in different subjects is concerned, the standard of the Commission is the same, may be slightly better, in certain areas and the results are arrived at practically in the same fashion. The examination, of course, is later on supplemented by an interview before a final selection of the candidate is made. The interview is in general fairly satisfactory from the point of view, let us say, of the technical personnel sitting at the interview. But I was wondering what exactly is the purpose of this essay-type examination conducted by the Public Service Commissions. If the idea is to see the stamina of the graduates or to judge the level of achievement, which could probably be done or is perhaps being done by the Universities, one could depend upon the result of these examinations rather than duplicate them at the Public Service Commission's level. I am aware that there are slight differences here and there in the mode of examination, for instance, there is the general knowledge paper and things of that sort, but it would appear to me that we should conduct some kind of research in these examinations and try to see what exactly do we require from a student who is to prepare for the public services. For instance, a student who has Geology or Electronics as his subject is selected for public service. This, apart from the general usefulness of the subject, is not going to be of any extra use to him in his public service in his narrow capacity. I am also aware that after the examination, the candidate gets his training and the training procedure is to give certain information and knowledge of the things which he would be required to deal with; but I was wondering whether it is not time to scrutinise the details of these examinations which are conducted by the Public Service Commissions and to see if any changes are necessary in the mode and the content of these examinations. This, as I said, is a question of research. I would, therefore, like to suggest whether it would not be possible to introduce a type of research unit attached to the Public Service Commissions, to find out how these examinations are to be conducted and whether they should be continued or modifications or alterations are required in them. Some research in this is necessary. It is also necessary to see how students have done, first, in the University examinations and then in the P. S. C. examinations, whether they stand it equally well or nearly as well or whether there is deterioration in the standard. Further, the research unit could find out some sort of correlation between the achievement in the examination and later in their service career. Also, in a democratic structure, the Services are required to exhibit qualities of co-operativeness, leadership and initiative. The present system of examination does not test or discover these qualities. Certain other psychological techniques and tests have to be used. For this, research is again necessary.

"Secondly, we often find a great deal of frustration and disappointment among the young students who take these examinations. That is on account of, perhaps, one fact, viz., that a very large number of candidates take these examinations. We cannot obviously absorb anything like a sizeable proportion of the candidates that take the examinations because the number of posts is limited. I am wondering in the case particularly of technical personnel, whether it is not desirable to indicate the requirements of the country in regard to technical personnel like engineering etc., in general, and other kinds of technical services and whether it is not possible for Government to announce either through some agency or otherwise what kind of graduates and how many they would require. From this, there would be some idea in the minds of the candidates about the number of technical people who will be required. Today, of course, either the Government or the Public Service Commission announce that they have to select a certain number of candidates, broadly speaking, may be 100 or 200. I was wondering whether it would be possible to follow the system as in the MIT, namely, that the Government and the various agencies or institutions send their requirements to the MIT or some other organisation, saying that so many engineers and so many electricians, etc., are required. This would give an idea to

those concerned to prepare for those kinds of career in which they may be interested. What happens in our country is that the student really does not know, in fact nobody knows, what type of personnel and how many we shall be requiring. So, I would suggest that some kind of correlation should be established between the requirements of Government and the requirements of the various institutions, and this particularly in regard to the technical needs of the country. We have had a recent spectacle of getting a lot of people trained abroad in different kinds of technical fields. A few years ago, quite a large number of them came back after technical training abroad and on return it was found that there were no suitable jobs for them where their higher knowledge or skill could be usefully employed. This has led to a lot of frustration and given rise to considerable suspicion about the aim of the programme itself. To conclude, I would suggest first, a research unit to be attached to the Public Service Commissions and the other agencies for research in methods of examinations which I think are fairly out of date, and second, to develop sensitiveness to the requirements of the country and to see that a correlation is found between our needs and training programme of relevant personnel."

The Chairman pointed out to the speaker that although a member of the Union Public Service Commission is present and listening to the observations made by the participants, he will not reply to them or participate in the discussion. His presence itself will have its own use. One should not feel that they are insensitive to what is being said.

The Chairman continuing, said, "I believe that the Public Service Commissions have a fair idea of the disparity in standards of the various Universities. By long experience, they have learned to disbelieve the apparent evidence of degrees and if that is so, naturally they have to evolve something which would be a common or uniform measure. And the same conclusion, I think, has been arrived at by the All-India Council of Technical Education. Their concrete recommendation is that there should be one unified examining authority and that admission to engineering colleges should be on the basis of merit of candidates. At the back of it, of course, is the conclusion that nothing but the best is needed for science, engineering and technology because the consequences of failures are tremendous. As an intermediate measure, they are proposing to hold regional examination, that is to say, in about four separate regions, on the strength of which admissions will be made to engineering colleges.

"As regards the manpower requirements, the trouble is that the UPSC is not recruiting for everybody in the country, that is to say, they are only recruiting for the Central Government. Not only that, they are not recruiting for the Universities even. For the teachers' professions they are not recruiting. Then, so far as the State Governments are concerned, the recruitment is done by the State Public Service Commissions. So, the manpower requirements that are estimated are with reference to the country's need as a whole. There are now more and more refined estimates available. As you know, the number has been increasing from time to time. The first estimate was four thousand admissions, then it was raised to eight thousand, and probably at the end of the Second Plan period they are aiming at a yearly admission of twelve to thirteen thousand students for engineering courses. The reason why people come to the Centre is that there is a disparity between the Central scales and the State scales. Every one is in search of a much better job."

One participant remarked that there was quite a large number of competent young Indians abroad, in different parts of the world, who would like to come back to India if they could get suitable jobs. He added, "I am not only thinking of scales of salaries and so on, but their capacity to do certain jobs for which they may or may not be

having facilities here. I believe the present arrangement of the U.P.S.C., is that one of them, usually the Chairman, goes abroad periodically. I think it is once a year, and he interviews a large number of candidates in Europe and America. Now, the problem from their point of view is that they have to wait for several months or a year or even more in the hope of ultimately getting something suitable, and that is too long a period for them to wait, with the result that we lose quite a number of young highly competent and trained Indians whom we would like to come back, but for whom there is no opportunity here."

In answer to this, the Chairman stated that this problem was being taken care of by the CSR Pool. The scale of pay offered to new entrants is Rs. 350-800, which corresponds to ordinary Class I scale. He said, "It is my impression that none of them can expect anything more than that. It will be seen that these people get jobs suitable to their special aptitudes and that the U.P.S.C., may not in the future have to go abroad in search of suitable men. They will have to have a look at the Pool and they will go through the same process of a continuous scrutiny as has been described by a participant earlier."

With reference to the point made by the Chairman in regard to the CSR Pool another participant thought the point was not so much, as has already been made out, about money. But, what one actually wants is an opportunity for developing research in the manner in which one is accustomed to. He observed, "Surely, there should be a kind of independent atmosphere of free working rather than being able to work specifically only under the direction of this man or that man. Unfortunately, in our country, when one works under somebody then it implies a role similar to what one takes in administrative matters where, for instance, an Under Secretary works under a Secretary, and so on. This kind of work under somebody has a reaction on the person. On the other hand, there must be much greater freedom in a scientific institution. "This freedom he enjoys abroad and I was pecially trying to emphasise this aspect, namely, that we should try to secure for the young student—young researcher—the kind of freedom in his own work which leads to creativeness and productivity."

The Chairman clarifying the point, said, "I should like to know whether that kind of freedom is obtained in our Universities? I should say, 'No'. Young people generally have to work as junior collaborators. What I mean to say is that the whole atmosphere in our country is such that we cannot transplant here what is being done in other countries and I am taking as correct your statement that in other countries they get this kind of opportunity. That may be in a small number of cases there, but several cases that have come to me are to the contrary. Cases are mentioned of young people working in a state of suppression with some senior people who have lately guided them in their doctorates. The relationship in those more advanced countries is essentially different than what we seem to have developed in our own academic atmosphere. It is really a question of transformation of the scene rather than taking any specific action here and now."

TOPIC II

HUMAN RELATIONS AND INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

From the Working Paper :

Within an administrative organisation the higher administrator is to direct and supervise a large number of employees. If the former does so invariably in an authoritarian fashion, morale will not tend to be stimulated. Fear of authority and morale do not go well together. On the other hand, if the administrator displays high qualities of leadership, morale among the employees will be encouraged. Leadership implies the capacity to inspire the followers to work together harmoniously and with enthusiasm for the good of the organisation. The employees will have respect for leadership if leader not only maintains high standards of integrity and devotion to duty but possesses a broad vision, a dynamic personality and a sympathetic heart which cares for the welfare of the followers. Moreover, the leader should be able to provide continuous guidance and encouragement to the followers so that the latter are not disheartened by day-to-day difficulties or any setbacks.

In an organisation, the existence of a feeling of casteism among the employees tends to obstruct the growth of morale. Such a feeling may exist between the general administrator and the specialist or between the higher personnel and the rank and file of employees. It is necessary in the interest of morale to remove emotional barriers between the various categories of employees in an organisation.

No less important in the field of morale is the effectiveness of the role of internal communications, both formal and informal, in a large-scale organisation. For instance, if the supervisors not only give clear and comprehensive instructions regarding the implementation of a programme of work but also try to enlighten the subordinates in various ways about the objectives of the programme, enthusiasm among the employees will naturally be stimulated as they will have some feeling of partnership in the execution of the tasks entrusted to them. Again, the same feeling of partnership will be fostered if the subordinates are encouraged to give suggestions and reactions in regard to the tasks upon which they are engaged or about to be engaged.

Some of the important questions which need discussion, therefore, are :

- (1) What measures are needed to develop administrative leadership in a public agency?
- (2) How should the relations between the higher personnel and the rank and file be adjusted so as to foster mutual confidence? In this connection the relationship between the generalist administrator and his technical head of the department may also be examined.
- (3) How should the feelings of casteism, which may be prevalent among the public employees, be removed or minimised?
- (4) How can the internal communications in an administrative organisation be improved so as to make the employees better informed about the purposes and programmes of the organisation?

- (5) What light does the experience of the defence forces and of the police organisation, (as well as in private business), with the problem of morale throw on the same problem in the civil services?

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Opening the topic for discussion, the Chairman observed, "The question of workload and discipline had not at all been covered in the previous topic. It seems that if there is any question more important than any other in this country, it is this that we should ask ourselves as to if we are really giving a full day's work or are we giving value for money as compared with other countries? If we are not, then we may draw the conclusion that we shall not prosper and from such evidence as is coming up it looks as if in large sectors of our economy—beginning with the students, not to mention the others—we are really not giving a full day's out-turn. That may be due to lack of a proper job analysis as to what the standard of out-turn for people should be. In some cases, as for instance, clerical work, it may be more difficult to have that kind of job analysis, but I have heard every one saying that we get five hours' work instead of eight hours' work. If it is so, we should find out if any thing could be done to raise it to eight hours."

One participant remarked, "We talk of the public service as a unified organisation and it really ought to be so, but unfortunately we have three distinct worlds functioning in our public service today. The first part of it is the Minister, the second is the higher administrative professional civil servants and the third is the large numbers of clerical and other personnel who are doing certain routine jobs. Between them there is a very little meeting point, whether you take from the operational point of view, intellectual point of view or even social point of view. We talk about the caste system which ought to be reduced but I could point out instances in State Governments and elsewhere where all Ministers are physically located at one place with the clerks and ministerial civil servants. So far as the intellectual position is concerned, it is a fact that there is a certain amount of intellectual hatred and they are not emotionally integrated as they ought to be in public services. The Ministers also form the most important element of public services and if there was proper integration between all ranks it could make for better human relations and morale, but differences continue even at the higher levels as well as at the lower levels, between the general administrator and the professional man, and the technical man also. There are differences and hatred between all those levels and something will have to be done to change the entire atmosphere to bring in a proper integration. Few of the measures which need doing in my opinion are that, first, you must have all people of one department physically located together whether it is the secretariat people or the operational people in the field, the head of the department, what is now known as the Minister concerned. At present, it does not happen like that everywhere. It may perhaps be in some Ministries of the Central Government but it does not happen in the States, as far as I know. Second, we will consciously have to build up the civil servants at the lower level. Today, we depend to a very large extent on this large army of civil servants who are inadequately selected, inadequately trained and not given either that dignity of work or that proper training which will make them really enthusiastic about their work.

"Thirdly, I feel we have got to increase the number of decision-making people so as to lend some charm to the work and we must reduce the number of people who just feed others. We have to reduce what is now known as clerical content, especially in the field of Government work. Where policy-making is concerned, we should increase the policy-making people and for this purpose effort has to be made by senior people to build up the lower level. I can say that apart from making a large amount of saving by reducing a number of people, we will find that work was disposed of quickly and

apart from the gain, the people at the lower level will find the new dignity in the work finding that their work is recognised."

Another member was of the opinion that "So far as the human relations are concerned, my own feeling is that training can achieve a lot—training both of a formal and of an informal type—and the first line of training in human relations is that of people promoted from the lower ranks to the supervisory post. The second thing is the training of higher administrators for the new responsibilities which come to them when they occupy these high posts. To my mind, the Administrative Staff College at Hyderabad is promoting that type of administrative leadership through its syndicate method of training programme. Human relations may also mean developing better human attitude among administrators, but in a country where there are more than four million employees of the Central and the State Governments, one institution is perhaps too inadequate to provide the training in human relations to the higher administrative class people and perhaps there is a need for many such institutions. I find in the United States of America, a good deal of attention being paid recently to this question of training for administrative leadership. One important feature of it is training in human relations. Recently, the American Congress has passed a piece of legislation giving powers to the administration to carry on training courses for the federal civil servants; some courses for higher civil servants are now being actually conducted at Chicago and other places where this problem of human relations forms an important part of the training in administrative leadership. So, I thought, two things are necessary: first, effective training of the first line supervisors in human relations, and second, the training of the higher administrators in human relations, and in this direction, much more needs to be done than has been actually done in this country so far."

Another participant said, "After all, administration means the ability to manage persons, both superior and subordinate, politicians and the like. Now, an interesting point is that we are all talking about co-operation between the people and the Government. But, where is the co-operation between the different wings of the Government!"

Narrating an incidence, he said that he was piloting a Bill known as the Electricity Undertakings Bill—a very controversial bill. The main point in it was 'dividend limitation'. The rest of the points were not so important. The entire industry was against the proposal but the Bill was introduced and they had twenty-one meetings along with the trade and the industrial representatives. His permanent administrator of the Ministry wrote to him after all their discussions and meetings: 'My dear H.M., I will be failing in my duty if I do not tell that you are going wrong. That this is too early to put limitation on dividend.' He then wrote back to him: 'My dear X, If you had not written a letter of this kind, I would have thought very little about you. But, I assure you that I have not an empty mind but an open mind, and by the time this Bill comes out of the Select Committee, I hope, much of the views you are holding now will disappear.' Ultimately, both the things happened. He had to change a little and his Secretary had to change a little. He added, "The main point is having complete confidence in treating your subordinates in the administration as if they are one of you. Discuss with them informally as many times as possible. I do not remember to have ever written on any file during the course of Ministership whenever I did not agree with the point of view put forth by my officer. I used to call him for tea and used to discuss and then say, 'look here, in the light of our discussions it should be like this'. And he used to say 'sorry'. Nobody below the Secretary knew that there was any difference between the political head, i.e., the Minister and the administrative head, i.e., the Secretary. That created a good atmosphere. The Secretary followed the same practice with his Joint Secretary and the Joint Secretary followed it with the rest. The whole administration in that way, in a way, became an informal family."

"Now, the administrative leader must be distinguished by certain characteristics. He must be a man of superior performance himself. A third rate man cannot be a perfect leader. This is obvious. Secondly, he must have a knack of bringing harmony among the various elements in administration. And, thirdly, proper attitude should be maintained towards every one of the staff members. Whenever any matter came up for a discussion in Parliament, I never let down my officers although they may have been wrong. I criticised them not in a collective manner. Also, when I was convinced that a particular officer had done wrong, I used to call him in my room and say: 'This is what you have done. However, there is no margin for repetition of this error.' So, if this sort of atmosphere, is created, everybody feels that he belongs to the organisation. That is the thing that is necessary. Otherwise, it just becomes like an advocate who pleads the case, goes home after pleading and forgets all about it and all the earnestness that he pretends is just washed away. But, if you make the man participate with the decision-making process and make him feel that he is in the picture and he has something by way of contribution, then he carries back the sense of responsibility with him and you will immediately find improvement in the quality of his work. Where the act and the mind are in accord, the performance is bound to be good. Where the man had not heart in it, whatever the amount of pay he may receive, the work will never improve in quality."

Raising a question about the discussions, particularly about the informality of discussions—not the discussions between the Minister and the Secretary, but at the secretariat level—a member said, "Too much discussion, too much informality, may lead to certain blurring of responsibility and lack of regard of particular individuals on matters of importance. I would like to know, therefore, from the vast experience gathered here, as to what can be the safeguard against this kind of danger arising out of everything being discussed informally without the opinion of each individual being put on record?"

Answering, the speaker observed, "There are two aspects of this question. One is about the responsibility and the other is about the record of the meeting. So far as the informal meeting between me and the Secretary was concerned, we did not maintain any records of them. We used to discuss and final decisions were taken. But, so far as the meetings between the Secretary and the other officers were concerned, short notes were kept. Now, as regards the responsibility, well, it is under the statute. My responsibility was to Parliament, and responsibility of the administration was of the Secretary. When we had taken a decision, whether informally or formally, then the decision was the decision of the whole body, but some one was held responsible for carrying out the same. So, the Secretary was responsible. There was no question of blurring out the responsibility. And the responsibility to Parliament was with me."

Disagreeing with the views, another member said, "As Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, I can say, when the Secretaries of Ministries appeared before me, the general attitude that the Public Accounts Committee used to take—and that is the convention, not only here but elsewhere also—was that the Secretary is supposed to be the person responsible on behalf of the Government and he alone was required to explain as to what attitude Government officials took on a particular issue. He could say that he was overridden by Government as the decisions were taken at the highest level. He was free to make such a statement. There have been examples where when the Public Accounts Committee came to know that it was a high level decision, the general attitude of the Public Accounts Committee was that the administration should be exonerated and the responsibility could ultimately be fixed on the Minister. But, if it was found that the administrative officer had expressed no opinion, then certainly we used to take him to task. After all, it is the duty of the administrator to advise the Government and the Minister. Why should he fail in that duty? That

was the attitude generally taken by a Committee of Parliament. That has been the convention so far. I do not know what the previous participant referred to. But actually in our Parliament, this has been the practice."

Clarifying further, the earlier speaker said, "I referred to two kinds of responsibility with which you also agreed. The implementation of the policy is the responsibility of the Secretary, *i.e.*, of the Ministry. So far as Parliament is concerned, it is the responsibility of the Minister. You know, if anything goes wrong in the Ministry, it is the Minister who is held responsible and not the administrator."

At this stage, the Chairman pointed out, "I do not understand how this question arises before the Public Accounts Committee because they represent Parliament and they must hold the Minister responsible for any decision that is being recorded or is being implemented. I cannot ascertain the circumstances in which it becomes the duty of the Public Accounts Committee to ask the Secretary of the advice he gave to his Minister. Certainly, the Minister must, if he had any reason to believe—not in the case to which a participant referred earlier, because there would be no other record except the fact that a certain decision was taken, but where the thing was a little more blurred certainly, the Minister in his own turn would be entitled to ask the Secretary, perhaps, as to why he did not advise him in a particular way, or why he did not draw his attention to particular facts, and a record may be important. But how that becomes the duty of the Public Accounts Committee, I do not know."

The participant, who had been the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, illustrating an example said, "There was a case of certain officer who was responsible for certain failures. Now a committee of officials which had gone into the whole thing made enquiries and submitted a report; and in that report certain things were said about that particular officer holding him responsible for this and that. The Cabinet or the Minister concerned later on takes a decision taking into account various factors, his previous record, etc., and he exonerates him. Now, this kind of thing has happened. The Secretary of the Ministry who deals with the report of such an official committee has to put up his own notes as to what he thinks of that report. That goes to the Cabinet and the Cabinet makes a decision or the Minister concerned makes a decision. Such cases do come before the Public Accounts Committee. Then, there are other cases where decisions are taken by administrative officials only. These are not exactly policy questions. At the same time, even a small purchase may involve certain policies. However that may be, if an action is taken, the public would very much like to know about the advice given by those who are experts to deal with such jobs. Such are ordinarily the questions which the Public Accounts Committee asks and then things follow."

Another participant said, "It might be useful for this gathering to know the way human relationship is maintained in a business organisation like a newspaper. The remarks made by a participant were very germane to this discussion because he pointed out the absence of emotional integration and said that human relationship was totally lacking. I think, one reason why it is lacking is that the people who are appointed to public services have not the same background and have not gone through the mill the same way. In a newspaper office, from a sub-editor to the editor, there is as large a gap in salaries as exists among civil servants at the top and a clerk—between Rs. 200 and 3,500. You cannot say that in Services you have any bigger gap. I think one reason why there is emotional integration in newspaper office is that everybody goes through the mill. Their background and their training is identical. That is what produces what you may call emotional integration. You cannot get that in a secretariat or in a district administration where the recruitment of a clerk and of an Assistant is so different from that of a Provincial civil servant and of an I.A.S. When you want to have emotional integration, you must take positive steps in training your people for a common purpose. You know that before the present administration came, you had a Secretariat

Service and an I.C.S. Each had an emotional integration at its own level. You have to follow what we have in a newspaper office that every single person goes through the mill.

"We must next consider delegation of authority. Emotional integration is maintained in a newspaper office in this way. The senior staff meets every morning for news conference and editorial conference. But, in the afternoon, at 5 o'clock, all the senior staff drops into the editor's room for a cup of tea and there any idea that strikes any of them is discussed. At that level, there is equality of opportunity. Whereas, in the morning, the editor is giving directions, in the afternoon he and his colleagues meet as a club. Then, once a week, I have a conference of all the chief sub-editors. These people are in charge of various editions of our newspaper. Once a week I have tea with them where they tell me their experiences of the week as to what they have felt and what they were up against and what were their difficulties. That is at the level of people who are in charge of production of the paper. Once a month, I get together all the members of the editorial staff where each one is in a position to talk to the other in terms of equality. That is where you get some type of human relationship. Then I have kept aside half an hour when any member of the staff may step into my room. He may have a brain wave. He may have something which he thinks he would like to put before the boss himself. He is free to do so. In 90% of cases, it may be that the suggestion is rejected. But, it promotes human relationship. We produce six editions in 24 hours. We work round the clock. At every level, there is total delegation of authority. A chief editor has the last word in editorial matter. Another executive has the last word in sub-editorial sphere. But, there is always this co-ordination that the morning conference of 15 minutes lays down the outline under which the staff works. The editor gets narrows (proofs) every 15 minutes. He keeps a constant check. It really means that in our secretariat organisation you have delegation of authority. But, so long as the man at the top is kept informed of the progress, he can always intervene and delegation of authority works perfectly well. But, if it means that the man looks to you for orders and does not take responsibility, and comes to you for decisions, then it is not delegation of authority. Delegation of authority means that a man must take initiative and decisions. There is a safety valve; in that the danger is checked. Delegation of authority appeals to me as the ideal for working in any organisation that wants to produce efficient drive. I do not see why in the Government secretariat these things should not happen. They have all the intellectual and moral equipment for the purpose. There is one difficulty and that is that old traditions are dying and no effort is being made to give a new turn and purposefulness is lacking. Once you have the purposefulness of a common objective and you get officials from a common social background, you get a far better approach to this problem of morale. In conclusion, I would say the reason why public services should be more and more modelled on this idea which I have projected is that as democracy advances, as industrialisation advances, as economic planning advances, the government servant and the man in a commercial concern will become inter-changeable as they are in America. Then, you will realise that a government servant has given you the full value for the money that you pay."

The next speaker thought that the impression given by the earlier speaker about the human relations in the newspaper offices today were rather misleading. He said, "Probably what he had said might have been correct in regard to the state of affairs prevailing some 20 years ago. When I was connected with the newspapers some 20 years ago, we were 5-10 people in the editorial department; and then a newspaper did not consist of so many other departments. There is a press; there are a number of proof readers; there is the advertisement department; there is the managerial department; and so on. From my experience of the Press Commission, of which I was a member, I can say that there is not much of a close relationship between the various wings of a newspaper

office. Much to my regret, I doubt whether newspapers can form a model for human relationships. My conclusion is based on the evidence tendered before the Press Commission when various members gave different impressions."

The Chairman pointed out that "In every Ministry right from Under Secretary, or even from Superintendent upward, every officer discusses in a general way with his superior, which is not the case in a newspaper office. In a Government office there are a thousand and one things which have to be dealt with and obviously you cannot deal with everything so quickly. One case may take ten days, whereas another case may have to be referred to the Cabinet. The general trend does not lend itself to this kind of things. Nevertheless, one may try to find out what exactly is the gist of this kind of approach".

Another participant said, "I suggest that we can learn a great deal from business and private enterprise. In business, productivity is vital and it depends to a large extent on morale. This can be fostered by grant of responsibility and realisation of feeling of participation. The Chairman has already mentioned 'responsibility and delegation of authority'.

"There is a great deal more in business enterprises, as one of the speakers has already pointed out, to be learnt with regard to delegation and, therefore, responsibility at the proper level. There is no unnecessary levelling between man and man; but delegation and the grant responsibility leading to a feeling of participation. In this respect, I consider lessons from Whitley Councils are of very great importance. I have attempted to try and establish Councils of this type in the Hindustan Aircraft Factory, for the purpose of encouraging participation and have obtained some measure of success.

"This particular aspect of communications is rather important as communications should be both upward and downward. The previous speaker's example of communications upwards—when the head of a department comes to see the editor or when sub-editors discuss subjects with the editor—gives the form of communication, which is very important. A man cannot have a sense of responsibility, if he does not know what is happening in his organisation or what policy-decisions are taking place. He cannot feel like participating, if he does not know why he is doing this particular work. A large number of reports, large amounts of statistics are required to be sent to headquarters; but very few people know the reason why the statistics and reports are required. I think it is important as the other speaker has pointed out, that we should all realise that we are working for a common purpose. In that respect the business enterprise has a great deal to teach us."

The Chairman, concluding, said, "There is one point which possibly has been missed from further discussion and that is the question of delegation. It seems to me important and must be included in the problem of communication, i.e., where there is devolution of authority what are the steps taken to avoid the conflict that devolution has created. It is necessary that delegation and devolution should go together and I do not think that there is anything that will bring about any compromise, this being settled that the lower officer is responsible for a particular thing. If you ask your cook to give you a good dinner, and leave the matter instead of giving elaborate instructions, it is more likely that you will get a good dinner in the first case than the second. As a result of forty years experience that we attained in relation to delegation, we have found right from the legislators to the junior officers, that almost every one wants to centralise power in his hands and when he dies the whole machinery gets upset. We have seen instances for the last fifty years of institution after institution coming up and going down because it happened to be a one man show. Every man ought to take care to see that he can be dispensed with and if he suddenly dies there is somebody to take over his work."

TOPIC III

PUBLIC SERVANTS, LEGISLATORS AND MINISTERS

From the Working Paper :

In a parliamentary democracy there are three partners engaged on a common enterprise—"the endless adventure of governing men",—the legislators, ministers and civil servants. But the success of the partnership depends upon the proper understanding of their respective roles by the partners concerned. Any maladjustment in this partnership has a bearing, among other things, on the morale of the public personnel.

It has been pointed out that in a parliamentary democracy, the role of Parliament is not to govern but to act as the grand inquest of the nation. While passing laws, scrutinizing the ever-increasing delegated legislation made by departments, examining policies put forth by the ministers and scrutinizing the financial proposals of the Government, a good legislature should adopt a critical but constructive attitude towards the actions of the bureaucracy. The attempt should be to exercise an overall political control over administrative activities in the interest of democracy. This control can be exercised through parliamentary questions, debates, and the scrutiny by the various committees of the legislature.

The members of a legislature may, however, indulge in destructive and bitter criticism of bureaucracy because they suspect the *bona fides* of the latter or because they have been misinformed about any particular administrative activity or because they are thoroughly dissatisfied with the efficiency or honesty of the administration. Again, if the Opposition Parties in a legislature are too small to have any hope of acquiring political power, such parties may give vent to their feelings of frustration by even attacking the personnel of departments unnecessarily.

Bitter and exaggerated criticism of the public personnel depresses their morale. The need, therefore, is to make the legislators realistic and constructive in their attitude towards public personnel. At the same time, the latter are to cultivate respect for the views of Parliament since it represents the will of the people.

No less important in the field of morale is the question of the relationship between the legislators and civil servants individually. Some politicians try to exert political pulls and pressures directly upon a civil servant in order to get favourable treatment for one purpose or the other. They may go even to the extent of browbeating the latter. On the other hand, some civil servants do not show proper courtesy towards the representatives of the people. Again, inefficiency and delay on the part of civil servants can be an important cause of annoyance to the politicians. Any maladjustment in the relationship between the politicians and public servants will not only endanger political neutrality of the latter but will also have an adverse effect on administrative morale.

Constitutionally speaking, the formulation of policies is the business of the cabinet and individual ministers. But in actual practice, the higher civil servants play an important role as advisers in the formulation of policies. Not only this, but the civil servants have to chalk out detailed programmes of work under the policies. The

higher personnel is also responsible for mobilising the resources of the department for the execution of the programmes and policies and to supervise the actual implementation of programmes of work by the middle-level and the lower-staff, both at the headquarters and in field work. While doing so, the higher personnel is accountable to the minister.

The ministers on their part are to provide both political and administrative leadership to their departments. They are not only to formulate policies but have to inspire the higher personnel with the real purpose and the underlying spirit of such policies without, of course, interfering in the political neutrality of the personnel. Again, while they should delegate power to the higher civil servants regarding the formulation of programmes of work and their implementation, they have to keep a general eye on the working of the departments as a whole. Unnecessary and too much interference on their part in the details of administration will not be in the interest of the morale of the public personnel.

The minister should praise the work of the officers when such praise is due and admonish them when necessary. But it will not be in the interest of morale, if they indulge in public criticism of the actions of the departmental personnel.

A minister should defend the action of his departmental personnel both in the legislature and in public when he finds that the criticism is based upon the exaggeration or mis-information. Again, he should defend his departmental officers when the latter have done things only according to the instructions issued by the former and should accept the constitutional responsibility for the actions of his department.

It is obvious that the relationship between a minister and civil servants is both ultimate and delicate. If a minister tries to snub or criticise the civil servants unnecessarily, it will have an adverse effect upon the morale of the latter. At the same time, the minister, since he is constitutionally responsible both to the legislature and the people for the activities of his department, should have an effective control over the actions of the departmental personnel. Again, a minister should inspire loyalty among civil servants to the policies and programmes formulated by him or by the cabinet but, at the same time, he should neither browbeat civil servants into servility nor injure their political neutrality.

The following questions may be examined :

- (1) What measures are needed to make the legislators adopt a realistic and constructive attitude in their criticism of the actions of the civil servants?
- (2) What steps can be taken to avoid political pulls and pressures of the public personnel in its day-to-day work so that it can carry on its activities without fear or bias?
- (3) What measures can be taken to build a good equation between the ministers and higher civil servants, based upon mutual trust and appreciation without causing any injury to the political neutrality of the latter?
- (4) How could the higher civil servants develop sufficient political sensitivity without losing political neutrality so that they can understand fully the spirit, besides the letter, of the policies of the party in power?

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Initiating discussion on this part of the Working Paper, a participant said, "Public Servants, Legislators and Ministers are really parts of one political entity.

The greatest factor that affects the morale of the Services is criticism in the House as well as criticism by the Press. Unless the former are defended and the latter controlled properly, there cannot be any discipline. A noted writer on Administration has described defence as the corollary of discipline. So far as criticism in the Legislature is concerned, it is both moral and constitutional responsibility of the Minister to defend and, under no circumstances, he should let down his Administrator or his Ministry.

"The public servant in the modern set-up of a democratic State should maintain harmonious relations with his Minister, with the legislators and with the public. In good old days, so far as the legislators were concerned, there used to be advisory committees for each Ministry and those advisory committees contained both members of the ruling party and members of the Opposition. I quite remember to have presided over these meetings for two or three years till the new Constitution was inaugurated. We gave as much information as was asked for. The members of the Opposition asked questions when the advisory committee meeting was there and the whole thing was very informal. Of course, the proceedings were recorded, but the kind of criticism that was levelled after the meeting of the advisory committee was at a higher level. There was less of malice, less of recrimination and less of bitterness. But, I find after 1950, there are no such committees of that kind. There may be good political reasons for not having such committees any more."

At this stage, a participant pointed out that there were now Consultative Committees, more or less, of the same kind that the previous speaker had mentioned.

Continuing, the speaker said, "I still feel that Consultative Committees will be in a better position to appreciate what kinds of difficulties the Administrator has to face, how far the Administrator should give information if he is approached directly. If a member of the Opposition comes to a Secretary to the Ministry straightaway for getting some information, the Minister may not like it. In my own time, I had issued a general direction in my Ministry that if any Member of Parliament came to see any officer below the rank of a Secretary, he should be politely told to go to the Secretary or to the Minister, because I felt that people at the lower level are bound to be influenced in the presence of a Member of Parliament or a legislator. Today, it is absolutely necessary that a legislator should understand exactly how the intricate processes of administration function.

"So far as the Ministers are concerned, their relationship with the civil servants should be one of complete friendship and harmony. After all, the Minister should realise that he has to work through that agency. Therefore, it is much better for the Minister and the Secretary both to have mutual understanding and trust of each other. The line of demarcation in the well-known words of Balfour is, 'the job of the Minister is to tell the Secretary that up to this and not beyond will be tolerated by the public'. So, the Minister's job is to see what public will like, what will be the reactions of public on a particular issue and so on. There is another important point which has a direct bearing and that is the politician immediately after the election is so much enthusiastic that he always tries to work in the atmosphere of his promises to satisfy his electorate without fully understanding the administrative implications. To my mind, the public servant constitutes the conscience of the community. It is for him in a very respectful manner, in a tactful way, to tell the Minister, 'This is all right, Sir, but these are the difficulties.' This is their most important duty. If they do not do it, then, there is a clear lack of constitutional and moral obligation. Moreover, the Minister may agree or may not agree with a particular course of action suggested by his civil servant, but whatever may be the case, they must record everything in writing. A Minister comes and goes but the Civil Service is the repository and continues. The skill of a civil servant

is found out from the way he puts up a case with facts and figures. For instance, when I was the Secretary-General of the All-India Congress Committee, we were considering some amendments of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, popularly known as 'Sharda Act'. The Government were not agreeable to its reference to a Select Committee. I then found out from the census reports the number of widows of one-year old, two years' old and so on. After compiling the figures, I just pointed out at the next discussion that if this is good for the British conscience, I have nothing to say. Immediately we adjourned for lunch and after lunch we came to know that the Government had agreed to refer it to the Select Committee. So, if the Secretary puts the data carefully, no sensible Minister would neglect or disregard his advice. Most recently, Lord Kaldor, in one of his articles, has mentioned that a Minister should not disregard the advice of his Secretary generally, but the Minister at the same time should make the administrator feel that 'you have your own point of view'; he must not be a pulp in the hands of a shrewd administrator. At the same time, you must not disregard his advice because his advice is full of knowledge, experience and information. The point is that the relation between the two should be of full understanding.

"With regard to the relations of the public servants with the public, in good old days, the highest qualities of a civil servant were integrity, honesty and anonymity. Nowadays, anonymity is not there because in good old days the State was primarily responsible for maintaining law and order and the collection of revenue. Now, you have the idea about development. You have to go to the people and tell them Government's programme. If you are in the district, you should explain the Government policies to educational and cultural institutions. More you explain, I am sure, the more you will rise in dignity. So far as the people are concerned, individual people who come to you, they must be treated properly. I give you little more from my three months' constructive experience. First month, there was no end of complaints. Then, I wrote to all the D.C.s to spare one hour every day to listen to complaints and to send returns as to how many complaints have been registered, how many have been disposed of and how many are still outstanding. Now, they are telling me that the result is good. On the other hand, I have received a letter saying : 'Dear Governor Sahib, after eleven years, I now find that I am treated as a man by the D.C.' These are human relations. So, every man who comes to a public servant with a grievance should be heard patiently. One good word means bettering of your reputation. The public servants in their relations with the public must be friendly and be of mutual help to each other. A legislator, on the other hand, is just a man of 'Taqdir'. He has been elected because our Constitution does not make any provisions that the candidate should have this qualification or that qualification. There is no question of fitness. The only test is, if he is popular, he can become anybody. So, you must not just try to slight him because he is elected and he has no experience. After all, he is the representative of His Majesty, the voter. It is your business to teach him, just as it is his business to teach the voter."

Another participant felt that "One of the distressing aspects of parliamentary life during these ten years has been the wide gulf that exists between Members of Parliament on the one side and civil servants on the other. I have tried to indicate very briefly, in one of my papers that has been circulated, some of the factors which have seemed to me to be responsible for the existence of this gulf both on the floor of Parliament—I hope there is no such thing here as breach of privilege or contempt of the House—but, I think, it is fair to say that on the whole, in the Lower House, criticism of public servants has tended to be much sharper and less understanding than in the Upper House. Here, I speak from personal experience of both the Houses. I remember that not only on the floor of the House but even in the Committees—I was a member of the Estimates Committee for some years—I found that when official witnesses appeared before the Estimates Committee, the tendency of quite a number of members of the

Estimates Committee was to regard official witnesses with a certain amount of suspicion, if not hostility. I am not now a member of the Public Accounts Committee, or the Estimates Committee, but I have been told by my colleagues, who are now members of these Committees, that the atmosphere has greatly changed for the better and there is a much greater degree of understanding between Members of Parliament on the one side and official witnesses on the other. But to go through the records of parliamentary proceedings, especially in the debates where the conduct of civil servants is brought into question, there is not that same restraint nor that desire to understand the points of view of the civil servants that one has a right to expect in a sovereign Parliament. I do not think that we should take a too tragic view of the present situation, because there are some factors which only time can cure.

"As I have attempted to point out in my paper, the civil servants on their side have not had the experience of working under members of the Opposition and the Opposition lacks the experience of administration. Therefore, our civil servants today find that their experience is only confined to working under members of the ruling party. If the House is not going to misunderstand a personal reference, I may say, that in the first few years there was a happy coincidence that in the Cabinet there was at least one member who has had long experience of service matters. That is not the position today. Quite frankly, I think, even members of the Cabinet do not always show that appreciation of the points of view of the civil servants that one has a right to expect from them. Therefore, for the time being, I do not see that any particular factor can bring about a change especially as the opportunities for direct contact between civil servants on the one side and Members of Parliament on the other are limited almost entirely to occasions like meetings of the Public Accounts Committee or of the Estimates Committee. I think, I am right in saying that, generally, British parliamentary procedure provides for more opportunities for members of the Civil Service to come into direct contact with Members of the House of Commons in the Select Committee stage than we do in our parliamentary business. Here, I think, the Ministers play the decisive role both on the floor of the House and at the Select Committee stage. Therefore, so far as fostering better relations between civil servants, especially the top civil servants, who are in immediate touch with their Ministers, and Members of Parliament is concerned, I think, we can only look to time to provide the remedy and the growth of a real Opposition in the sense of an Opposition with a definite and distinctive programme of its own and an Opposition with an organisation in the country, strong enough to enable it to look forward to an opportunity, after the general elections, when it will take office. Now, until such an Opposition emerges, civil servants necessarily are compelled to take into view the views of the party in power. Having said that, I think, there are other factors which are remediable. For instance, there is a question which is No. 2 in our Working Paper, whether any steps can be taken to avoid political pulls and pressures on public personnel. Now, this, I think, is a matter which affects more the District officers than the Secretariat officials. I think, it would be very interesting to ask the officials, like District Magistrates, how much of their time is taken up with receiving Ministers at the Railway Stations, attending receptions in their honour and seeing them off and attending to matters which are brought to their notice by a Member of Parliament or a Member of the State Legislature and now even by local party bosses like the Presidents or Office Bearers of local Congress Mandal Committees.

"I have reasons to believe that there is far too much interference with day-to-day work of the District Officers by these local party bosses, apart from the M.Ps. and the M.L.As. The only remedy there is that the Chief Ministers of the States should be very firm not only in their conduct but also in insisting on the observance of a similar code of conduct by other Ministers. I say that because I know when Rajaji was the Chief Minister in Madras, he was very firm in regard to this matter. He would not

allow any M.P. or a Member of the State Legislature to have any say in regard to the posting of officers; and even his colleagues, I think, on occasions did not have the influence that they should possess in regard to such matters. It was a very wholesome practice he introduced, and I would wish other Chief Ministers could do the same.

"Now, as far as point three is concerned, about Ministers and the higher civil servants, building up cordial relations based on mutual interest and appreciation, it is rather a delicate matter and I would not go into detail, but I have taken the opportunity to summarise in one of the papers I circulated, the broad feature of a case which drew a great deal of attention in England in 1954. In the "Crichel Down" case, the Minister was completely innocent and he was let down by his officials, and that was the verdict of the Committee that was appointed. He resigned office without a word of complaint against any one and he went out of his way to defend the actions of his officials because while he admitted that some errors of judgment had been committed, he refused to accept that there was any wilful suppression of facts by the officials at the time the decision was taken. Of particular interest are two or three aspects of that case. The Minister in resigning said grave errors of judgment were committed but he refused to admit that there was any wilful suppression of facts, and the Committee which went into the case was asked to consider whether in order to maintain public confidence, the officers concerned should be transferred from their existing duties to other posts. That was the punishment suggested by the Government to the Committee which went into the question and the actual decision taken was that the principal officer concerned was more guilty than others. He was transferred to another post of equivalent responsibilities; and as far as the other officials were concerned, no action was suggested because censure implicit in the report of House of Commons was sufficient punishment. Now, I would like to invite attention to the statement of Mr. Herbert Morrison, who took part in the debate, because he was a former Home Secretary. He said, 'morale and efficiency of the civil servants can be hurt in two ways—it can be hurt by failure to check something which interferes with its work and it can be hurt by unjust denunciation of his services'. That remark came from one of the leading members of the Opposition. He made the remark because he had experience as Home Secretary, in the last Labour Government. At the end of the debate, the Home Secretary explained in greater detail in what manner an erring civil servant should be dealt with by the Government and the Minister should assume full responsibility for the actions of his civil servant. Such a situation has yet to arise in this country unfortunately; but it does seem to me, sooner or later, we shall have to aim at the same relationship between the public servant and the Ministers as obtains at present in England."

At this stage, the Chairman enquired of the speaker, "You gave up the question as a hopeless matter but by the passage of time, could not the Press, or academicians, or institutes like the Indian Institute of Public Administration studying records impartially or service associations petitioning Parliament without drawing attention to individual cases, bring about an improvement in the atmosphere or the attitude?"

Agreeing with the suggestion made by the Chairman, the participant added, "I did not refer to the significant rôle the Press can play in order that I might take that up when we discuss the last topic, but since you have mentioned it, I would like to say one of the most scandalous things at the moment. It is the liberty with which a section of the Press takes individual civil servants and make libelous statements without any action being taken by the Government. And also, one of the things which shocked me is that top secret documents—a letter between a Minister and civil servant can be produced with impunity on the floor of Parliament without any question being asked as regards its propriety".

At this stage, the Chairman remarked that "It is a well-established convention that members of Parliament will observe restraint in criticising civil servants in either House. They are expected to obtain the necessary facts from the Department concerned and avoid criticising the civil servants in the Legislature as the responsibility before Parliament is that of the Minister. Similarly, the Press too is expected to observe restraint in the matter and not to publish any hearsay news which is likely to damage to the public service in general and to the individual civil servant in particular without first obtaining authentic information. It is, of course, difficult to draw a line between an act of the civil servant which is proper and which is not proper. It is natural for the Press at times to feel outraged for an act or acts done in good faith. The remedy lies not in rushing to immediate publication but in ascertaining real facts of the case."

Endorsing the view, the participant said, "It is very deplorable that many in responsible positions are making statements like this. The President of the Congress, for instance, made the statement the other day in which he said that he had drawn the attention of the Chief Ministers of States to the need for rooting out corruption in the Civil Services. That sort of statement seems to me most unfortunate. This is far too much loose talk about the Services."

Another participant observed, "I have seen a good deal of the pulls and pressures on civil servants, pulls and pressures in the matter of appointments to lower categories, pulls and pressures in the matter of posting and promotions and discipline, and these pressures come from all levels, that is to say, from legislators and even individual Ministers and I agree with the previous speaker's remark that the only way to prevent these pulls and pressures is for all concerned, that is to say the Ministers, the Legislators, the party bosses to evolve and observe a code of conduct and such a code of conduct can only be laid down by the political party in power. I see no other way of stopping this or reducing this."

The Chairman at this stage asked the previous speaker, "Is there any way of discovering lapses before you can apply a code? How does one come to discover these cases, because in my opinion, what is really wrong with this country is that everyone is acting under a blanket of fear, that is to say, they just not dare say what is happening? If you could have a sort of X-ray underground, you will find a thousand and one things that are happening. Everybody talks about it in social circles but as soon as it comes to giving a kind of public statement about it or proving anything, then everybody withdraws within a shell with the result that one could even doubt whether anything is happening in the country."

Replying to the Chairman, the participant said, "I learnt a great deal from members of the Opposition, from a section of the Press which is not always scrupulous, but you do come across cases which they mention and in these there is sometimes a measure of truth. It is unfortunate that there are factions in the ruling party but the prevalence of factions in the ruling party itself often brought cases to my notice."

Replying in the positive, to the Chairman's query as to what action had been taken, the speaker narrated a case in which the transfer of a very high official was ordered by the Government and he had reason to believe that the transfer was the result of a strong pressure. He thought that the transfer was unjustified and he took a very serious view of that and matters went right up to the highest level and eventually something satisfactory was settled in the sense that the officer concerned, who was transferred, was granted leave for sometime and was later on brought back to the same post.

The Chairman thought that all reform should start right at the top, that is to say, things may not come to the Ministers. People may be afraid of going even to the Chief

Minister, because one does not know whether any action would be taken, but the Governor was in such a position, as he was, by common agreement, above party politics and he really represents the President and the Federal Government through the President and the Union Government. The Chairman added, "I would like to know whether Governors felt free to take notice of these things and I am not likely to be misunderstood. Did they draw attention to these matters, because practice differs from State to State?"

The speaker, clarifying, said, "The matter depends upon : (a) personality of the Governor, and (b) relations between him and his Ministers. I would not say that a Governor is not misunderstood, if he takes up the cases. I know he is sometimes misunderstood and may feel hesitant about taking up some of these cases. Again, much depends on the Governor's conception of his own duties, the extent to which he is prepared to give advice and also the extent to which in the case of a show-down he is supported by the Central Government."

The Chairman referring to the Governor's role as Chancellor of a University in regard to appointments said, "The burning topic at the moment is whether the Governor, who is Chancellor, acts as the Governor as defined in the Constitution or whether he can act according to the light of his conscience. I have had discussions with Governors who are definitely very much worried about this matter. I gave it as my view that since the law that created or appointed the Governor or the Chancellor is the law of the State Government, the State Government and the Governor are parts of the same term. Indeed for the Constitution, the Governor means all that. Therefore, if one part delegates power to the other, obviously we cannot say that you and we are the same. It simply means that the State Government within its legislative powers asks the Governor to look after certain matters as an individual, as a very distinguished individual. That argument is sustained by the fact that it is not compulsory or it need not be any reasoning or any constitutional requirement that a Governor should be the Chancellor. It is open to the State Government. It follows because the State Government makes law and there is nothing inhibitive in the Constitution. It is open to the State Government to appoint, say, the Chief Justice as Chancellor and obviously the Chief Justice cannot be considered equivalent to the Cabinet. If the Chief Justice has a certain freedom of action, it seems to me that the Governor must enjoy the same freedom of action. The Chancellor in one alternative cannot be a free person and that person in another alternative is a person who is bound to carry out the advice of his Cabinet.

"But I have been told that the Attorney-General has taken another view incorporating the President as the Visitor, that is to say, when a similar law is passed by the Central Legislature instead of the State Legislature, it has been held that the President will be held as the Visitor and the President has no other capacity except President as lawfully constituted, which means that he must, before the Act, take it up before the Cabinet. I must take this opportunity of stating that I strongly disagree with this view and it defeats the whole purpose of University autonomy, when the Chancellor is appointed then the Chancellor must function within the power that has been given to him and if the State Government does not like then he could exercise these powers and appoint some one else. It has a bearing on appointment of Professors, Assistant Professors, etc. He cannot do all things. Finally, there are matters of discipline; all things go to the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor of the University.

The previous participant further added, "As Governor, I was the Chancellor of certain Universities. In one State in an University, of which I was the Chancellor, the question of the capacity in which I functioned as the Chancellor did not arise. In another State, I took the view that in my capacity as the Chancellor, it was not the constitutional responsibility of the Ministry to advise me in the discharge of my

functions as the Chancellor. For instance, in connection with nominations to the Senate, the Vice-Chancellor sent his recommendations to me and I made my own selections after consulting the Chief Minister informally. We generally came to an agreement, but while consulting him, I was careful to point out that it was not his constitutional right to advise me. In another State, I found that the practice was for the Vice-Chancellor to consult the Chief Minister or the Education Minister first about nominations to the Senate and then submit names to the Chancellor. At my instance, the Vice-Chancellor sent the names to me first. I then consulted the Education Minister informally and got his agreement. Later on, there was a difference of opinion in the Cabinet over this matter and the question was raised whether the Governor in his capacity as the Chancellor was not bound to ask for and accept the advice of the Ministry. A good deal of correspondence followed, and eventually the Attorney-General of India gave a ruling that regard being had to the terms of the Act relating to the University, the Governor in his capacity as the Chancellor was not bound to consult the Ministry, much less to accept its advice, though it would be desirable for the Governor to consult the Ministry informally in regard to the exercise of his functions as the Chancellor."

Raising a further point, the Chairman said, "The Governor may refuse to accept the responsibility which the legislature wishes to put on him; that is to say, if the Governor is not the 'Governor', with the inverted commas for the purposes of the Constitution, and if there is a proposal that he should be made the Chancellor, does it not follow that the Chancellor may decline because he is too busy as, say, in Bombay, where there are six or seven Universities and the time may come when there may be as many as thirteen to fourteen universities and the Chancellor may as well choose to deny. As Governor, it may not be possible for him to do both the duties adequately."

Further explaining, the previous member said, "I myself was put in that position. I was Chancellor in my capacity as Governor. While discharging the functions of Governor, I was bound by the advice of the Ministry. The position in regard to the Governor exercising the functions of the Chancellor was, in my view, altogether different. I took the stand that if the Ministry thought that it was their constitutional responsibility to advise the Governor in his capacity of Chancellor, it would be better to relieve the Governor of his position as Chancellor, because I do not wish that the position of the Chancellor should be challenged in academic as well as the other circles. This argument worked."

The Chairman further added "In some Universities, like the Rajasthan University, it is definitely provided that some nominations are by the Governor and some nominations are by the Chancellor, which also clearly brings out the distinction that they want some nominations to be made by the State authority and some by the Chancellor in his individual capacity".

Raising a point about the position of the Chancellor in the University, another member stated, "I would just indicate that in some of these University Acts, there are sections which definitely say that the 'Chancellor in consultation with the Government'. In other sections, no such indication is there and it simply says: 'the Chancellor shall or will do this'. Where the section is silent about the consultation with the Government, it seems to me quite clear that no such consultation is necessary and the Chancellor acts in his function as Chancellor—the Head of the University—and his advice in the University matters is the Chancellor's and not the Minister's."

On the question of relations of public servants, Ministers and legislators, a speaker said that there were very learned papers and extracts circulated to the participants from various books showing what the ideal relationship should be. "But", he added, "when we refer to our own conditions, naturally one has to draw on one's own

experience. I felt that one of the difficulties in India has been, particularly during the last ten years, that whereas in an ideal situation the civil servant should be advising the Minister, here we often find that the Minister relies on the civil servant's advice for support for doing something not merely for something which should not be done. Often, a clash comes on that account. The Minister makes up his mind that he would like something to be done. When the matter comes up officially to be examined, then the civil servant, whatever knowledge of the rules he has and the sense of propriety he may have, puts up a note giving his reasons and grounds against following a particular course, and suggests what the right course should be. This often annoys the Minister and the Ministers do not have the confidence to over-rule the civil servant in case they find that the advice is unpalatable or politically unsuitable.

"In one particular State where I served, within a few months after I took over charge of a particular post, I was sent for by the Governor and he told me that the Chief Minister had told him that the method of my working was to write notes on files. I said, that is what a Secretariat officer does. When he gets a paper—whether it is a letter from a subordinate in a District, a communication from the Government of India—he examines all aspects of it in accordance with the rules and tenders his advice to his chief, whether it is the Minister or the Chief Minister, as to what the correct course should be. If the Minister feels that some more information is required or there are some aspects of the case which should have been examined, he says so on the file or asks for a discussion. But the Governor said that the Chief Minister would like another method of working, *i.e.*, as soon as a paper came, I should take it up to him, discuss it with him and then record a note. So, in that case, I said, all that would remain for me was to record what the Chief Minister wanted, in which case where was the opportunity for really tendering the advice to the Minister or the Chief Minister. I advanced another argument also that if I took up all the papers to the Minister or to the Chief Minister and spent half a day in discussing them, I would not be able to get through my work. So, that practice or that method of working would not suit me. It would lead to a great deal of delay and confusion. Therefore, I declined to follow that practice and adhered to the recognised method of Secretariat noting, and only where the discussion was asked for by the Minister or where I felt that the discussion was necessary, I did so. I am just explaining this to show how it affects the morale of the Services in general. The same is true downward, *i.e.*, in the case of Deputy and Under Secretaries, who were in the habit of bringing all the files to me for my personal opinion on each and every case. I did not like the idea. I told them that they should first express their own opinion on each case. I told them that I disagreed with them on the present method of their working. Well, they seemed to be under the impression that the fact that I disagreed with them was some kind of aspersion or slur on their ability or competence. I had to disabuse them of this impression. I said to them that they were honest people, that they should have their own opinion on each case, and that there was no aspersion cast on them. So this is where, I think, the trouble starts, because some Ministers expect that the civil servant should support them in everything that they want to do which is not quite correct, and that is why morale is affected."

The Chairman enquired if anything terrible happened to him?

Replying, the member said, "It just happened that the Governor in passing the remark in that case said: 'you are preparing the ground to leave this place'. I said, 'yes, it would be no misfortune to me'."

Another member enquired if matters were improving in that respect?

In reply, the participant said, "Well, it is very difficult to compare".

At this stage, the Chairman stated, "We really want a factual investigation as to how many things are happening. We are talking of principles. No doubt, most of

them are accepted principles. As soon as they are stated, they are found to be accepted principles. But, we have no machinery of finding out the extent to which they are followed. Therefore, it is not possible for us to do anything effective, and as such, our Conference will just remain a record of sentiments which no one would challenge. I think 99% of these are accepted conclusions. But, the real difficulty is to find out where this sort of thing is happening."

With regard to the morale of the public services *vis-a-vis* the politician, *i.e.*, the legislator and the Minister, another participant said, "There is one very disturbing element which one finds getting to be fairly rampant and that is the access of the junior members of the hierarchy to the Minister or to the legislator. I won't use the phrase 'in the capacity of a tale-bearer', but something similar to that, *i.e.*, junior members having direct access to the Minister can put things before him which he uses in his discussions with the senior members. This is against the best traditions of any Civil Service. The hierarchy is intended to provide that a Deputy Secretary will advise the Secretary and the Secretary will advise the Minister. But, if the Deputy Secretary or the Under Secretary is encouraged directly to go to the Minister, informally of course, and discuss matters with him, it is not simply the Under Secretary but people much lower down—if they are encouraged or allowed to discuss matters with the Minister, it is bound to affect the morale of the Civil Service. And, being an outsider, I have not the slightest doubt that there are junior members of the Civil Service who have direct access to people at the top, *i.e.*, the Minister and very frequently the opinion or the mind of the Minister is made up on what he has heard here and the note of the Secretary fails to convince him.

"As regards the point which was made by a participant about the function of the Secretary, it is certainly correct that the Secretary must give independent opinion and then if necessary, have discussion with the Minister. But, there may be matters in which the Secretary feels that, as it is a matter of high policy, a preliminary discussion with the Minister might help to clarify certain points and in that case he would categorically enter in his note 'discussed with the Minister' and then record this opinion indicating that it is not his independent opinion but an opinion which has been formed after knowing the first reactions of the Minister. I will not say 'the mind of the Minister' but the 'first reaction', because the Minister may change his mind after reading the note. After all, in every matter, there are points for and against and the Secretary's business is to marshall the case and present it in a marshalled way so that the Minister may read the pros and cons and then act accordingly. The difficulty in a democracy is that the legislator has always to think of his next election, he has got to have the key-men of his constituency on his side and these key-men may exercise undue pressure on the district officers as was pointed out by a participant. But, the evil may spread even to the Secretariat because in a Welfare State, the Secretariat plays a big part in commerce and industry and in other matters relating to the society at large. Even, small matters like the establishment of a college in a particular district, where there is no need for it but because it happens to be a constituency of an important man, pressure is brought to bear upon the head of the University. I am speaking from personal experience that against his conscience he must agree to do such things and if the Chancellor does not happen to be a strong enough man then the pattern of education is made topsy-turvy. In matters relating to industry, it has much greater repercussion. It depends very much on the personality of the man at the head as to whether a senior civil servant can function effectively or not. In this young democracy of ours, I do not think we have been able to decide the position of the civil servant *vis-a-vis* the leaders and the legislators of the State—the men who administer the State in the capacity of Ministers and Legislators".

The Chairman remarked at this stage about Sir Ivor Jennings' reference in his book to the facility that ought to exist for the Minister of calling anybody from his

for consultation, which is rather against the theory of a rigid hierarchy. If a Minister wants to send for a Deputy Secretary who seems to be particularly knowledgeable on a subject, he may send for him. He added, "Would you agree that the thing today is to record what advice has been tendered by such a person called and not to do this *sub roza*, so to speak?"

The reply was that, "If there is such a knowledgeable Deputy Secretary, then the Secretary might also be called to the conference or discussion so that the Secretary is in the know of things as to what advice has been tendered by the Deputy Secretary to the Minister and he need not be taken by surprise".

Another member, who spoke from his experience on the subject of relationship between Ministers and the Governor in the States, thought that there should be fundamental rethinking of the functions of the Governor if he were to function in any way as a moderator. He said, "There may be Ministers who are particularly susceptible to Governor's influence. But, by and large, I should think, the Governor would have to be thought of rather differently if he is to play anything like an effective role in this matter."

"The Chairman had put a question earlier as to whether the criticism of public servants came largely from members of the Opposition? My first-hand experience of one State and my knowledge about some other States is that some of the most vicious criticism of public servants comes from members of the party in power. Well, it may be—I cannot really speak with a great deal of confidence—that part of the reason is that the party in power feels in a certain measure answerable to the people, and it is natural and, in any case, it is easy to pass on the permanent civil servants the responsibility for anything that goes wrong.

"There is a great deal of criticism of civil servants in the legislature, and, particularly, from the members of the party in power, and Ministers are not always anxious to take responsibility for unpopular decisions. I can say from my personal experience that files in which a civil servant was advising against a particular course of action, which influential members of the legislature, or a group of members desired, were shown to the members by the Minister, saying, 'Well, I wanted to do what you wanted, but what can I do? The Secretary or the Chief Secretary has written a note, a very strong note, and in the face of it, what can I do?' I know for a fact that the files were shown quite frequently. I feel that if a Minister is prepared to accept responsibility even for policy decisions or for important decisions about programmes and so on,—leaving aside individual actions—I should say there would be much less unjustified criticism. Of course, if there is justified criticism, I do not say that those civil servants, who deserve justified criticism, should not be criticised; but the undeserved criticism would certainly be reduced if the Minister accepts the responsibility more freely than they do now.

"While discussing this particular topic, we have been thinking rather more of the senior civil servant at the headquarters. Well, he is in a somewhat sheltered position, and, I think, it is the lot of the civil servants in the field which is a most unpleasant one. He is coming in contact with members of the legislature, pleasing some and displeasing others in the course of his duties, and it is his conduct, whether as Inspector of Police or Gram Panchayat Officer, which is discussed in the legislature frequently. There, I think, it is not really a question of ill-will as of difficulty which most members of the legislature experience in grasping the idea of ministerial responsibility. It is easy, when the Civil Service is small and functioning directly under the control of the Minister, to explain to anybody, the idea of ministerial responsibility. But, it is very difficult to convince even a fairly educated citizen that the Minister is responsible

for anything and everything which a public servant in a village does. I believe that even in England this problem has arisen now and there are many more questions about the conduct of civil servants in the field that are discussed in the House than there were in the past. The whole idea of ministerial responsibility is changing. I had occasion to discuss this problem with some members of the legislature and they say that they accept in a very general constitutional sense that the Minister is responsible for what a civil servant does; but how are they to accept that the Minister is responsible for something wrong done by a Sub-Inspector of Police or something wrong done by a village worker? To the suggestion that the proper course would be to make a complaint to the Minister so that he may take appropriate action, the answer given is that that does not prove so satisfactory, because the Minister starts making enquiries and investigations and nothing comes out of the complaint and that the only remedy was to raise the matter in the legislature.

"Now, there is another point of friction and misunderstanding. I think, Ministers in the States generally do expect civil servants to listen to what public men may have to say—members of the legislature or members of political parties. In the State in which I was working, the Ministry did not expect the public servant to be guided by public men; they said that they only wanted weight to be given to the views of public men. But whenever it was pointed out that it is much better that you entrust a particular responsibility to a statutory body like a Gram Panchayat, and let it have the power to act and let it become answerable, the suggestion was not liked very much. From the point of view of civil servants, once you create a statutory body and transfer certain responsibilities to it, it is all right. But this was not liked because apart from any other consideration, this means that to that extent the ministerial control itself gets restricted.

"I feel from my experience of State administration that so long as we have a large wide-spread Civil Service, which is expected to be influenced by members of the legislature and political parties, you will have misunderstanding, you will have criticism and you will have all manner of difficulties. Where the responsibilities and powers are transferred to a body created by law, things work much better."

The Chairman asked, "What is the protection to a civil servant who acts in a particular manner?"

In reply, the member said, "This question was put to me very often, and most pointedly on the eve of first general election when I had a conference of officers right down to the Sub-Divisional rank. I said that for honest discharge of his duty, an officer would not suffer but I could not give an absolute assurance, and I could only say that they should act like a man and take the consequences. Well, I think, generally one does not suffer a great deal except that he does not get an accelerated promotion, which somebody else may. This is all, and I think self-respecting civil servants should be prepared to accept that, and get through his service on those terms."

Another speaker thought that the present situation has largely arisen from the failure of the politician to understand his role in parliamentary democracy and failure of the civil servant to stand up for his position. He added, "Both are equally blameworthy according to my estimate of the situation. And, I further think that a solution of the situation is not possible unless a Code of Conduct is drawn up both for politicians and civil servants—when I say politicians, I mean the ruling party as well as the Opposition. The Code of Conduct is very important because we are no longer administering a Government whose main function is to maintain law and order and collect land revenue. We are now administering a Welfare State—at least we aim at that. That these people do not have a proper estimate was clear to us the other day when a person

of the rank and ability of Pandit Pant made a speech against which we wrote an editorial in our paper. He suggested that it was the duty of every civil servant to see that the socialistic pattern of our society became a reality. We criticised him. We asked why a civil servant should be asked to adopt this pattern of society. A member of the Civil Service may be asked to implement decisions of the Government of the day irrespective of the ideologies that determine those decisions. Similarly, when the Congress President Mr. Dhebar issued a circular that Mandal Committees and Congress workers should go and participate in the food drives, we said that that too was wrong. The Mandal Committee is an organisation of the political party. It is not right that these mandals should integrate themselves with the district administration. Being quite conscious of this distinction between a civil servant and the ruling party in a democracy, we must draw up a code of conduct. Of course, today, I can tell you of instances where a Minister defers to the views of his Secretary and I will tell you where a Secretary is a stooge of the Minister. They are both extremes. Both are unhealthy. The fact today is that the civil servant does not perform his function in a majority of cases as a civil servant. He does not express his opinion firmly. He does not express his opinion frankly and persistently because of the fear of consequences.

“With regard to the role of a Governor, I think he is a safety valve in the Constitution. A Governor has the most potential role to play and unfortunately Governors, in most cases, are not playing that role, that is the role of conscientious collaborator and adviser. If they could effectively function, the Ministers and the civil servants would get the balance which they lack today. That is to say, a Governor could be a guide and the mentor, provided he knew his job. There again, at the moment, the machinery is not functioning as effectively as it should. I have had experience of the field administration because I undertook 8000 miles of tour by road to study the working of the Community Development projects in eight States. I came into contact with village level workers, sub-divisional officers, district magistrates and Commissioners. In most cases, I found that officials at all levels were considering themselves as public relation officers of the Ministry in power and not functionaries of the Government. That outlook was very unhealthy. That does not make for stability in a political system of parliamentary democracy. Here the Code of Conduct should be laid down. Similarly, the Ministers and Legislators must observe a Code of Conduct. At present, each one is trying, without guidance, without knowledge, to do what he thinks is best for the people or for his own good or for his own circles and the anxiety to do the best for his own circle without worrying about the interests of the nation is causing all round confusion. From my point of view, a Code of Conduct for the Governor, for the Minister and for the civil servant is essential and I feel that if people at the top, for instance, a Chief Minister, knew his job and knew how to act, you get the answer to all the questions you have posed in this particular topic. If you have a right Chief Minister who sets the tone and the standard, you will get the administration going on the right line. You do not have to indoctrinate too many people. Once you establish a proper relationship, you will have done a lot to save this country from confusion and from chaos”.

With regard to the role of the Press and the legislatures, a participant said, “I feel that probably we are not realising that today we are functioning in a democracy. The sovereignty of the legislature must be maintained. In that case, it will happen that in an enthusiasm to assert the sovereignty of the legislature, Press would speak out its mind very frankly and sometimes rather in an indiscreet way. But, proper democratic conditions take time to develop. It will be very bad indeed if you get impatient or if you get unhappy about certain utterances either in the legislature or in the Press, because then the way is open to corrupt the legislature, to corrupt the Press, to prevent any kind of freedom of expression of opinion. So, to get impatient on anything, say either in the legislature or in the Press, is a bad sign. The only corrective to such things

is to allow time to develop certain well-known conventions. We cannot settle it by laws or by any regulations. After all, democracies in other countries have also taken time to develop. So, what is essential, in my view, is that you must develop a very thick skin—whether it is the Minister or the official or a non-official or a Governor or who-soever he may be, he must develop a very thick skin. That is what is lacking today. It is only eleven years that we have been free, and it will take time for the things to change. They cannot change miraculously. So, what is essential is that at all levels we must realise that democracy has got certain implications inherent in it, and particularly in a country where there were, till lately, all kinds of restrictions.

“Another important factor connected with morale, which is psychological, namely the tendency to shift responsibility. The administration shifts the responsibility on to the legislature, the legislature shifts on to the Minister and the Minister on to the administration. Ultimately, if nothing happens, then we say that the Indian people are such a rot. That kind of shifting of responsibility is evidenced at all levels.

“The second thing that I feel is about delay in the disposal of official business. This gives rise to a series of pressures. Supposing, there is a request from a particular place where there is a drought and people need some relief. Now, for that thing, the demand to reach there and remedy it, it will take six months. As the Chairman said, unless there is an expeditor, things do not materialize. So, what is the role of the non-officials who are in the legislature or outside in this regard? Today, he thinks that he is an expeditor. He starts with very good intentions and then he feels that the expeditor's role is a very important role and that he should get a number of things done. That is what is happening today. So, this expeditor's business is in evidence and that has set up a kind of demoralisation.

“The third and the last point in this connection is about the psychological factor, *i.e.*, failure to delegate powers. We have all been crying about it, but I am almost certain that nobody wants to delegate powers, whether he be a Minister or a legislator or an official. We all talk of delegation of powers, but we do not do it practically.

“Lastly, there is an element which is at the root of many things, *viz.*, favouritism. Whether it be politics, whether it be administration or anything else, it is prevalent everywhere. If it is a question of giving a ticket for election, or if it is a question of appointment or transfer of some officer here or there, it is there. That has to be looked into and unless that is remedied, all these evils are bound to continue. If we can tackle these four problems, I am sure, many of the conflicts that are noticeable today will be remedied. We should try to look into these factors objectively and I am sure things will be all right after some time, provided we take the right action at right levels.

“With regard to the role of field officers in the districts, I personally feel that they have got very difficult problems. I as a member of one of the constituencies have had to deal with them and I have realised their problems. In the course of my experience as a Member of Parliament, I came in touch with at least half a dozen district officers at various levels. One officer whom every one admired and who was held in high esteem, as he was the most successful officer because he did his job well, did not miss to do his duty. He did not do any favour to anybody and the man, who was supposed to be very powerful, was a very unpopular man in a way but the officer who did his job, did his duty, took notice of things and took the necessary action, was loved by everyone. I think if right kind of training is given to them, they will be able to deal with their duties more satisfactorily.

“With regard to Mandal Committees, I was amazed to hear a participant saying that these committees, because they are political in nature basically, should not integrate

themselves with the various programmes of the district administration. In a democracy, we expect people at all levels to co-operate with the Government. Today, it is Congress Government, tomorrow it may be Communist or the Praja Socialist running the Government. Everyone should co-operate with each other and I think that is a very healthy sign. I cannot say what is the idea on which we separate the official class completely from the non-official. If that is the yardstick of efficiency, then we should improve it a bit.

“Another point which I would like to mention is about the access of the junior members of hierarchy to the Minister or to the legislator, I personally do not see any reason for getting disturbed over it. Today, a junior officer can hardly approach a Minister but he can approach somebody in his own constituency who has a pressure or relation with the Minister. As a member of the legislature many things, in my experience, have come to light because some information was conveyed to me by somebody and that resulted in some very healthy thing. Why it happened, there must be some reason. If a person has a real grievance which he could not otherwise get redressed then why should he not approach someone to set the matter right. We should encourage our young officers to express their mind independently and freely.”

Referring to some of the things which were said by the previous speaker, a member observed, “Mention has been made of the need for a Code of Conduct. My short answer to that would be that you cannot codify conduct. You have got to build up conventions, and whereas the concept of a vague Code of Conduct is unexceptionable, any attempt to put down code of conduct as such would probably defeat itself, because, as I have said, I do not really think that conduct can really stand or be subject to codification.

“The Chairman was quite right in mentioning as to how we can devise any such conventions or codes without discovering and probing into actual causes. I think, the discussion again and again will emphasise the need to attend to morale. It tends again and again to come back to groups of public servants and entities at the Centre. I think, if I may repeat something which I had said earlier, the morale of the public servant as such is every much part and parcel of the total morale of the community. I do not think that everything that has been said so far convinces me that you cannot really separate out the two; and certainly, not by trying to build up morale either in the Ministries at the Centre or in the States, or at the district officers’ level in the districts. Morale is something that is indivisible.

“Then, much has been said as to the Press. We, perhaps in our country, are little over-sensitive to criticism. Certainly, in the old regime, the public official was screened from criticism. He was protected from criticism. Whereas, I do not agree that I should be asked to get thick-skinned about criticism and somebody who calls me a liar would get, I hope, a fairly effective answer about me. Personally, I think that there is a great deal in the Press acting as the agency to trod and probe government and government agents—public servants. Perhaps, there is a good deal of room there for public servants, all up and down the line, getting accustomed to or getting over their over-sensitivity to press criticism or any other criticism for that matter. One thing that suggests itself to my mind is that there should not be a general assumption of avoidance. In other countries, where again and again there have been cases, as you recently had the Sherman Adams case in the U.S.A., and in the U.K., you had rather a similar case; these cases are thrown up as exceptions, while here in India, a similar case tends to be thrown up as a sample of what prevails. That is something to which both the Press and the Parliament ought to give their very close attention, namely that, by and large, there should be an assumption that the public servant as any other citizen is, on the whole and in general, honest, and reasonably competent,

and not the contrary. It hurts nobody's morale for wrong-doing to be thrown up, to be exposed, and punished. What affects morale either way is how we do this very thing, how we distinguish individual or specific wrong doing from a general state of incompetence or corruption or general badness. There is not enough of that understanding or appreciation of this need by the Press or the legislatures or the political leaders.

"Then, there is no sufficient appreciation of the benefit to the public good of positive public recognition in the Press or otherwise. Now, rightly or wrongly, the public servant who prefers (I think, the sound public servant really does prefer) to remain completely anonymous, does also respond to specific praise for good work done, and specific public recognition. I think there is not enough of recognition. I remember, in the old days if there was a flood, an upset of anything of that kind, all the district staff rallied round and did their work, some of them well, some of them not so well and some of them badly; but by and large, a good deal of trouble was taken to communicate on each specific occasion the recognition of the work done and the praise of anything that was accomplished. There is a certain hesitancy about it now—to praise the public servant, to recognise the work done.

"Then, I would like to refer to what a participant said about his experience. And, I think, he was not here earlier and so I would like to repeat what I said previously, namely, that we are only eleven years old in the mutual experience between the political entity and of the administrative entity in the country. Perhaps, the experience he narrated was towards the earlier part rather than towards the later part of this extremely brief period of eleven years. And, even today, the public services as a whole—top to bottom, all the way down from the highest servant to the local patwari on the one hand and the politicians on the other, if I may group everybody in that category, who apply or tend to exercise power or to apply pressures,—are still inexperienced about each other's work and spheres of activity.

"I would like to refer to the other point that the same speaker made—the need for noting on problems and on the importance of the record. I think, here, we find again and again the difference between officers who have done case work in courts and those who have never done case work in courts. An officer who has done case work in courts, gets a number of cases. The first few cases he does and then he looks with great anxiety as to what happened in appeal in his cases. After some time, he loses interest. It is in the nature of the judicial process that quite a number of decisions get definitely upset on appeal and he learns not to fear this and not to regard it as a criticism of himself. Noting is essential not merely because it is good secretariat work, but I think it is a good thing that public officials, who are paid and employed and placed in position, should apply their minds and offer their judgment to a problem, to state their point of view; and I personally regard it as a good thing if an Under Secretary, or a Joint Secretary or a Deputy Secretary goes into the case, applies his mind independently within the general framework of the policy which is set out in writing and makes his proposals. I would like to mention straightaway here, because it arises out of this, the question of direct approach to Ministers by junior officers. I think that it is a good thing that not only should a Minister have available to him the points of view or recommendations on cases by officers up and down the line but that whether he likes it or not, it should be made available to him. Now, I think the fear expressed that this may lead to by-passing the authority of the next senior officer or two senior officers, be it the Secretary or the Joint Secretary, and that the Minister should be served with only one point of view and one piece of advice, is wrong. It is a good thing that different points of view should be raised and it is a good thing too that the officers who have dealt with the case should then take the trouble to go into the arguments and go into the recommendations made by the junior officer. We have

a system in the Ministry in which I work where, I for one, positively encourage junior officers to go to the Minister with a case, but we also have a working rule, namely, that whatever discussion takes place, whether it is in writing or oral, is then reported back. For instance, even an Under Secretary takes a case to the Minister and he is encouraged to do so, and especially if he is a new officer and he takes cases which are either repetitive ones or are based on previous sets of circumstances. Then, it is his function, his duty, to put it on the file and to report it back. He should say there : this is what I recommended and this is what the Minister has said and this is the conclusion. It is always open to the next senior officer to walk along with the junior officer to the Minister's room and say : that I do not agree with him because he did not take these things into consideration. I would like to emphasise the need of bringing on record the different points of view not merely because there are personal differences and variations in judgment, but because each one of us carries a rather different picture. The field officer, for instance, a Managing Director of a Corporation or a District Officer, has a very different picture to present than the one I have or a Deputy Secretary or a Joint Secretary has. It is a good thing that that picture should be presented on the record. For instance, the Financial Adviser has quite a different picture to present. That picture also should be recorded, so that it tends not merely to serve as defence for the future but because it provides the whole picture of the circumstances in which a particular decision is taken. And, as you know, circumstances differ at different times. A decision taken today on a particular set of circumstances may be very different from a decision taken on a similar set of circumstances after six months. And again, this decision may be changed. It depends upon the situation then obtaining. Therefore, I am rather labouring this point because it was made in such a way by a participant that there is a real danger in the approach he advocated. But, another participant has quite rightly stressed the need for putting on record and placing there the results of the examination of the case."

"The Chairman asked as to what assurance a civil servant has for protection. I think a participant gave a good answer. Elaborating that answer, I should say that the main protection for the civil servant lies in himself, namely, he himself being free of fear. The average career of a civil servant consists of many ups and downs, except a very few cases which are always there. Every civil servant, in whatever rank he may be, need not be so afraid of the downs. Some of the downs are not only a test of the official himself but are also useful in building morale. If there is anything in him, then he will not go under and that is the internal protection. I do not think there is any real substitute for that. The external protection is contained in the Rule of Law. I think there is a clear Rule of Law in this country. No one can get away from it. No one can say 'I am supreme'. What is supreme is the Rule of Law, and I think that constitutes a very powerful protection to the public servant, wherever he is, whether he is in the Secretariat or in the field.

"With regard to a participant's remarks about the sovereignty of the Legislature, I would like to challenge that straightaway. The Legislature is not sovereign. What is sovereign in India is we the people who have given ourselves this Constitution and it is the Constitution which is sovereign, and any other assertion of sovereignty is constantly being challenged in the Supreme Court of our country. And, I think, if we can get over this fallacy and if some of our legislators can get over this fallacy under which they labour, it would be all to the good; because the sovereignty means a single entity. That single entity is the Constitution. Once you come away from that you are lost; because if the legislature is sovereign, then which legislature—as there are a dozen legislatures? And, I think, that needs challenging. The public servant should not feel bowed down or cowed down under this concept of sovereignty. The same participant also mentioned something which I should like to deal with. First, the tendency to shift responsibility all the way along. Undoubtedly, it is a human failing that

prevails everywhere. It is always in existence and the public servant is no exception to that. Certainly, it is a defect and we should try to overcome it. This may have become more now. The delays in the work disposal are, I think, a very important fact. But, it applies to cases in the courts also where, I believe, the more the judges that are being appointed the more cases are piling up. And, somebody has said that it is apparently an application of Parkinson's Law. One very petty trivial case in point is : We have about sixty-five chaprasies, and they suddenly found themselves on the 31st December without winter uniforms, and naturally they did not like it. It was a very cold day and the officer in my Ministry who looked into the matter found on enquiry that these winter uniforms had been lying ready with the tailors and nobody in the office had really taken adequate trouble to go and collect them. I think that is a bad thing. It does not do good to the peons' morale, to be deprived of their winter uniforms when actually they are lying ready and just need to be picked up.

"Then, there are pension cases where a public servant is at the mercy of other public servants for their own personal cases. It generally reflects again the process of slowing down of the work.

"Favouritism, again, I think, there is a fair amount of it. Personally I think, there is no more or less of it than ever there was. Favouritism is a feature, rather like passing the buck, which harms all administrations whether it is a public service or whether it is a private association. There it is.

"I would like to deal with decentralisation and delegation because, other than training, I think, this is one of the most important features, affecting morale. Everybody agrees instantly in principle, on the principle of maximum delegation and maximum decentralisation. Of course, there must be decentralisation; the people above do not do this and therefore I should have more powers. Yet, it somehow or other stops there, in one organisation after another. We find today in every field a tendency to overcentralise. Where it is in a district headquarters, the district officer tends to centralise to himself; in the case of a company, the managing director tends to centralise to himself, the board of directors tend to centralise to themselves, and I think, the reasons given are such that they might be worthwhile to have a look at them. One answer that is frequently given to the question of decentralisation is : well, the other chap is not really experienced enough. Now, I think, there is a fallacy there. Of course, he is not experienced. Now, he will only gain experience by exercising this decentralised authority. Or, that he is not able or that he cannot be trusted to discharge the responsibility. These are the main reasons given. Well, of course, the answers to these are obvious. Of course, I can do a case much better myself than my Deputy Secretary can do. But, that is no reason why he should not do it. Now, a district officer can do a judicial or other case better than his junior officer. But that is no reason why his junior should not do it.

"Then, there is another aspect of this delegation. There is a clear and recurring failure to exercise delegated authority. That is a feature that tends to take people by surprise. There is a tendency to refer up, to ask for advice. The exercise of delegated authority ought to be compelled more and more. There ought to be a compulsion. Once you give advice to somebody who comes to you for advice or guidance, he tends to come to you again and again, and before you know what is happening he is absolutely lost. Now, what is happening again in these rather new industrial projects? The tendency is to run to Government every now and then, the tendency to run to the Board of Directors. And, it often surprises, when you take out a list of delegations or the articles of association and tell them, 'Look this power is yours. Why don't you exercise it?' The reply is, 'But we thought that we better ask in case we get criticised.' Now, this is the state of affairs which is prevailing. This applies even more in the field,

particularly in the districts and in the rural administration, where there is a clear tendency even now to run up and to ask for all kinds of advice and guidance.

"There is another feature of delegation, which is not sufficiently appreciated. And that is that delegation without authority and without resources is completely meaningless. Unless you allot resources and unless you allot authority, merely telling somebody or some entity to be responsible for something is, to my mind, completely meaningless. It comes up most clearly in my mind in the case of Panchayats. And, I think, here the recent experiment in Madras might be worth examining, where I think, the intention is to call the Panchayats to assume responsibility for either the development programme or anything else. It is no good asking them to do it and then their having to run each time to ask for resources on each and every occasion. The resources ought to be allotted at the time that the delegation is given. I think, there, on the allocation of resources in Madras, the experiment is being tried of allotting to the Panchayats the expenditure of either the whole or a certain amount of the land revenue. Now, that, to my mind, is entirely right.

"Finally, there is an aspect of delegation which again I think needs emphasis, namely, its concomitant of answerability and reporting. The fact that authority is delegated imposes not a lesser but a higher responsibility on the person to whom it is delegated or a party to whom it is delegated and upon a party delegating it, in terms of accounting and answering for. There is a clear tendency on the part of an officer whether it be a District Officer or Tehsil Officer or Project Officer to say : 'This is delegated to me, go away, I cannot answer any question about it'. The answer to that is that the greater the delegation, the greater the answerability. I think this liability to account and liability to answer is a good thing, and I think it is good for morale.

"With reference to the specific point mentioned in the Working Paper, Item 1 deals with Code of Conduct. I have dealt with the fact that Parliament is not supreme. I have mentioned the Parliament Committees, the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee, which came in during the discussion. In England, the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee are two distinct committees. I believe that in the Estimates Committees, Ministers answer and in Public Accounts Committees, the Secretaries answer; the reason being that the Estimates is directly a parliamentary function; while the Public Accounts Committee derives its actual working programme from audit paragraphs and reports of the Auditor-General, in other words, it examines as to whether the money has been duly spent according to the canons of good spending or sound spending and whether it has been duly accounted for. My intention is to draw a distinction between the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee. Then, although as a witness before these parliamentary Committees an officer would be within his rights to say so, I think that he should not, (and it is quite wrong for him to) say that he gave the Minister some particular advice but that the Minister decided otherwise. The Committees are dealing with Government as such and the spokesman of Government as such. If I may continue, I will answer to that also. On the only occasion that I have been asked this question directly : 'After all, what advice did you give to the Minister.' I appealed to the Chairman and he protected me at once and I did not have to say what advice I gave to the Minister. If on an audit case there is something wrong, then it would be my duty that it should be cleared up in the sense that if a wrong has happened it should be remedied, to whatever extent it is possible, and secondly to avoid repetition; and that is the extent to which a Public Accounts Committee can go."

The Chairman enquired : "What is the procedure for these committees in calling for the actual records? Whose permission is needed?"

Answering, the member said, "I, for one, have taken the view that a Ministry file cannot go before a Parliamentary Committee. Supposing there were notings on the file between two Ministries or even within the Ministry, that will not go to the Parliamentary Committee."

The Chairman observed, "That answers this question. If records cannot be called for, the contents of the records cannot be called for and since the Secretary is aware of what has happened, he can no more give information than produce the record and you will have to ask this question in Parliament."

The participant continuing, said, "That is the line that is being taken and I think it is the right line. If you feel all the time that what you are writing or what some officer or Minister is writing on a file is likely to appear before a Parliamentary Committee I think, it is not a healthy practice for the morale of Services. The Minister stands between the Ministry and Government organisations and the Parliament. He is the one who answers to Parliament. It is open for him to make use of the party whip and I personally would have no hesitation in advising the Minister accordingly in defending or protecting a decision or position taken by the Government in a case."

Still another member said, "I think the Parliamentary Committee has a legal right to consult the Government papers. The notes are vetted and then go to the Public Accounts Committee. They can ask for the files but they do not call for them."

The Chairman said, "My point is that they cannot ask the Secretary for the file. Therefore, an official witness standing before the Committee should not be asked to give away the contents of a file. I am talking of what would normally be the contents of a file and I say that it will not be open to the Secretary to comply with the request on the spot."

Further emphasising the point, the previous member stated, "It is a matter of building up a convention; and the way you build up conventions is not by joining issues; and there is I think a tendency to avoid, as far as one can, to join issue on this, because technically the Parliamentary Secretariat is perfectly entitled to call for a file, but what I would do in such a case is that I would raise a question with my Minister and I would advise the Minister on the record that it should not be made available. The Minister is there to stand between the Ministry and the Parliament."

"The last point to which I thought of drawing your attention relates to pulls and pressures in a democracy. This business of trying to remain safe from pulls and pressures and at the same time without fear and bias is asking for something that you cannot get. It is of the essence of a Parliamentary democracy that pulls and pressures exist. It is one of the systems of checks and balances that such pulls and pressures have a very large part in the parliamentary democracy. It is the price you pay. Some may think it is too high a price for efficiency in administration. My answer would be: an authoritarian efficiency is something that you definitely cannot attain in a parliamentary democracy; and for continuing a parliamentary democracy, it is well worth paying that particular price, and in any case we do in fact have a parliamentary democracy in operation and likely to operate for quite some time. I think we ought to squarely face the fact that pulls and pressures are inevitable. We should relate the morale of the public services to a circumstance where such pulls and pressures exist. I think, Prof. Finer, in his series of broadcast talks, has brought this point extremely well."

"Next, what measures can be taken to build a good equation between the Ministers and higher civil servants, based upon mutual trust and appreciation, without causing any injury to the political neutrality of the latter? The short answer I would

make is that all Ministers, public servants, workers in the field, political leaders, are learning (and again I would repeat that the amount of learning in the last ten or eleven years has not been insignificant, considering that we started off from the state of a complete mutual isolation between the body politic and the body administrative of the country) and are learning fast.

“How could the higher civil servants develop sufficient political sensitivity without losing political neutrality so that they can understand fully the spirit, besides the letter, of the policies of the party in power? I think it will take quite some time yet of trial and experiment. When Mr. Attlee went to Postsdam, he took the same civil servants as his predecessor did. On the other hand, when Mr. Bevan was here, I had some long talks with him. He said quite clearly that when after a few weeks he found that his Permanent Secretary did not seem to be able to swallow his policy, they came to a mutual parting of the ways. And I think it is necessary to face the fact that there has to be a broad acceptance of the broad policy. There is no getting away from it. Somebody referred to the socialistic pattern of society and the accepting of it. It would say that we should look at the documents; and it is the duty of the public servant to accept for implementation the documented policies of Government, and here in India, fortunately, they are extremely well documented. I do not think it is really possible, without damaging the work and morale, to either defy or ignore stated Government policy. I do not mean the policy of a political party, but the policy as stated in Government documentation. I have a very recent case where an officer from one State within the last few months was told by his Chief Minister, ‘Look here, my boy, you and I really cannot get on and my advice to you is that you should try and seek some other assignment; You might perhaps find one at the Centre’. I think that sort of thing is very bad. It is damaging not only to the officer, it is damaging to the public interest and certainly damaging to that particular political party. I mention these things only to underline the fact that we are probably going to go through quite a period yet of trial and experiment before it settles down. Any attempt to codify might defeat the very purpose which we are seeking.”

Drawing attention to the points raised by some participants about the functions of the Press in either commenting or restraining from comment on the action of civil servants, a participant having a wide experience in the field of journalism said, “My own opinion formed after being ten years as an editor, is that not much can be expected from the Press and things are getting a little worse. The reasons are three. In the first place, the Press has been affected by the revolution. It has really not had any objectivity. A criticism in particular of the Prime Minister is always difficult, and particularly if the Prime Minister sometimes takes the critical view of the Services that is reflected at once in the Press. On the three occasions that the Prime Minister has put in this sort of criticism, the Press has not put in any comment. This is one side which is historical and arises from the revolution. There is another factor; it is not based on history. It is the point that a large number of special representatives, particularly here in Delhi and also in the States, feel that they cannot get sufficient news unless they attach themselves to a particular Minister. It has become fashionable for special representatives here to attach themselves to Minister A, Minister B or Minister C to get a statement of case and publish something. And, there is no attempt to have that Minister’s statement checked or verified. A particular journalist does not want to disclose his source of information. That is the first reason. The second is that the correspondent—special representative—does not approach the other quarter. A Secretary or a civil servant really is not approached for information. Sometimes, the Minister wants to put only one particular point to the Press and the civil servant is not at all approached. The error arises from the fact that news is very tough to obtain in Delhi. A large number of people feel that they must have special news, otherwise these special representatives do not justify the position of special representatives. Such cases are not rare. We have

had one case recently where a civil servant differed widely from a Minister and the Ministers were interested in defending the particular Minister. The case of the civil servant went by default. There is a third factor also and that I am reluctant to mention. I have had personal experience of it. Newspapers are in the hands of newspaper proprietors. Large number of political figures choose to use the newspaper proprietors to bring pressure. I think there is a remedy. In this situation when an editor stands up in any particular case, he always wins. But the truth is that these pressures have increased and I am amazed at it. I am really amazed at the opportunities that are utilised by Governors and people like that to pass on little things of criticism to proprietors of newspapers.

"My own experience is, in this matter, there is nothing substantial but my impression from what I hear is that not only Ministers but Governors also frequently write to the proprietors to say that that is not fair, that is not proper, instead of writing to the journalist. If these things are encouraged, the calibre of the profession will not increase. It does not seem to me that we can hope to make good conventions because this pressure is very great. I am inclined to say that people, sometimes legislators, interfere at the cost of the Press. That is not desirable. It occurs to me that the gentlemen of the Press are very conscious of the limitations on their criticisms in terms of court proceedings and contempt of court. Any one looking at the newspaper knows that they are much more careful in criticising judges and persons working in courts. It seems strange, but while the contempt of court could be restrained, no proceedings of any kind against the civil servant could be restrained. Some months ago, there was an amendment, I believe in the Criminal Procedure Code, which more or less gave out as one of the purposes that it was designed to protect the civil servants and the other was to initiate criminal proceedings in which the civil servants are involved. So far there is not a single prosecution and unless there are prosecutions, nobody would believe that protection was given by law.

"It is time that when the civil servants have no right and are responsible to public, they should be protected by law or provisions under the Constitution, and I suggest that the analogy should be that of contempt of court proceedings. Either they should have the protection of Criminal Procedure Code in which the State, *i.e.*, the Minister should not be called as witness, otherwise the whole of the protection will be illusory or it must be an issue of the publication of criticism liable similar to contempt of court proceedings, not on the merits of the case but on the provisions of general practice."

Another speaker said, "A lot has been talked about the relationship that should exist between the Secretary and the Minister and the relations that should exist between the legislators and the Secretary or the Minister. But not very much has been mentioned about the Police force but probably we, who are here, have not come into contact with the Police. You are, perhaps, aware that every single case that is investigated by the Police has two parties and unfortunately my experience has been that almost in every important and controversial case, the two parties get hold of some legislators who support them and try to influence the course of investigation in their own way. This is a very dangerous sign which should be stopped immediately.

"A public servant in a democracy should not be afraid of public criticism, but when it degenerates into abuse on a matter which the public servant in the honest discharge of his duties has done, then he should get protection of his Minister. In my State, the public servants get in most cases, the utmost support from the Ministers. But what happens is that the criticisms are high-lighted in the Press far more than the answers to those criticisms and the Press in most cases publishes the answers, and rejoinders, in such a manner that they do not attract the public eye, and the damage done

by high-lighting the criticism is perpetuated. Unfortunately, some of our State legislatures have adopted the role of a senatorial committee and you all are aware that in America, where Constitution has been given to the people as it has been given to us, contrary to what has happened in England, where parliamentary procedure has grown, there has been a considerable lack of morale among the Services in the United States and I would like to quote here from an article written by Professor Cryil Falls about what is happening in America, *vis-a-vis*, in England. He says :

'Moreover, while British officers who have come under criticism are covered by the representatives of the Services in the Parliament, and dismissed, or at least reprimanded, when they cannot be excused, their senior American counterparts have to face cross-examination by senatorial committees. Perhaps, too, ours have been happier in the task of reconciling the need for discipline with modern ideas. At present, there would be no question in this country (England) of military committee sitting at the Ministry of Defence reporting to Field Marshal Lord Alexander that a serious drop in the standard of discipline had occurred.'

"Unfortunately, in our country the legislators have assumed the functions of a senatorial committee and it is certainly stabbing the morale of the Police force and also affecting its discipline most adversely.

"Then I go on to quote again from the same writer who talked about discipline. He says :

'It is one (discipline) which must be faced and solved in the spirit of times. No good can come from lamenting that this is what it is or comparing it unfavourably with that of half a century ago. Whatever good or bad, it exists, and it must influence conduct. Nor can the junior officer and N.C.O. use means to maintain or restore discipline which have not the sanction of military law and regulations in force. If their political chiefs play to the gallery, the only help for that is for the professional heads of the services to give them the clearest possible warning of the results. Cases may be found in which such warning has been disregarded, but they are not common. In general, the political chiefs come to recognise that they bear a heavy responsibility for the welfare of the services which they represent and that they may do untold harm by courting an easy popularity with those who cannot appreciate danger. It may prove to be as fatal to let the discipline of a fighting service slip as to let its equipment and weapons become obsolete or neglect its tactical training.'

"But, unfortunately, again in our country this is what is happening today, particularly in the State legislatures and I feel that there is a remedy for it. After all, we have our own Constitution and we follow the British pattern of parliamentary conduct, more or less on the British procedure. We have got a parliamentary democracy where the Minister is responsible to Parliament and where the permanent officials could enjoy the protection of the Ministers. If that is so,* then I would suggest that the Speakers of our legislatures should endeavour to prevent this kind of criticism that is being made today on the floors.

"May, in his 'Parliamentary Practice', has mentioned about the proper procedure in parliamentary debates. He says :

'Besides these general rules, the following types of questions may be enumerated as being out of order :

- (1) Seeking an expression of opinion, or containing arguments, expressions of opinion, inference, or imputations.

- (2) Containing epithets, or rhetorical, controversial, ironical, or offensive expressions.

"With regard to the point of access of junior officers to various top men without their next superiors being kept informed, I personally feel that it will have a damaging result to the discipline of the force, particularly when the matter is not in respect of any policy decision that might be taken by the top men,* but in respect of the individual officer's prospects. That is what is happening today. The junior officer goes to see the top man over the head of his next superior officer so that the decision may be made in his favour. In the Police, when a Superintendent of Police, for instance, goes over the head of his D.I.G. or I.G. for a change in the decision of his posting, etc., I think it is very disastrous to discipline and has got to be prevented. While we must encourage junior officers to speak their grievances, I do not think juniors should be encouraged to approach the top men over the head of their next superiors to try to get their prospects better.

"Then, as regards the relations of public servants and the Ministers, so far as the Police is concerned, we are free from the Ministers. We hardly see them except when we receive them or see them off. But that is not too often."

With regard to the relationship between the legislator and the public servant, another speaker was of the opinion that three factors had affected their relations. By legislator, of course, he meant also elected representatives of the people in other spheres of administration. He said, "There has been a tendency to look upon the public servant as a tool of the party in power, not so much as an instrument for carrying out the policies which the Government might frame, but as a tool used for certain purposes of the party in power. Not enough has been done to remove this misconception. A participant referred earlier to the fact that the civil servant has had to work too long under the control of the political party's Government and that he has not had experience of a change in the political party in power. Now, equally the party in power has regarded the public servant with a somewhat jealous outlook.

"I found in the State in which I worked in a certain capacity that I had to take certain decisions myself, both in terms of administration and in terms of policy. I had at that time felt that the largest acceptance of these decisions could be secured by general consultation amongst different shades of opinion and the elected representatives. I had made it a point to try and ascertain the views of different political groups. But I know that one of the consequences of this line of action was that a complaint was made by the party in power that I tended too much to consult other shades of opinion and that it was tending to derogate from the position of the ruling party. But happily, I found at the very highest level acceptance of the desirability of that course of conduct. It was held that consultation and advice from different groups and different shades of opinion was desirable. I wonder whether that is generally accepted. As I said, it all depends on who is in power. In a somewhat similar context in which I am placed today, I find that that sort of political domination is not there, and the general view and the general advice is that one should try to bring about a large measure of agreement, and that I should endeavour to bring that about by full consultation. This really emphasises the point which has been made and it also throws up another consideration, viz., whether the civil servant should really be shielded too much from other points of view and whether there should not be a greater touch with different groups and if a civil servant is to give the best advice that he can, he must understand and assess different shades of opinion, and base his conclusions on a consideration of all these aspects. This has not so far been fully recognised.

"The second consideration which has influenced the attitude of the people towards the civil servant is the view that the civil servant is somebody who dispenses favours,

This is at the root of much of the complaint that we hear about the *bona fides* or the integrity of the public servants. It is not sufficiently recognised that the civil servant is intended to be an impartial judge of circumstances in which certain decisions in accordance with the Government's policy have to be taken. Actually, he is looked upon as a person who can dispense favours, to whom many look up for favours and whom you should try to influence in a particular way and to act in a particular manner. The inability of the civil servant to carry out certain of these wishes and certain of these ideas, do invite a certain measure of unpopularity. Since he is also supposed to be dispensing favours, the outlook on his actions tends to be one of suspicion and distrust. That is why we hear so much about the lack of integrity and of corruption. It depends on the way one looks at actions, whether you want that the Civil Services should carry out their duties in as impartial a manner as possible, whether you want them to take decisions which have all a reasonable interpretation of Government, may be sometimes unpopular decisions, or whether you want these decisions to be pleasing to certain groups particularly. This is the case at the district level in regard to various administrative acts and the maintenance of law and order. The actions of a civil servant tend to be questioned because of certain confusion, I feel, of the role of the legislature and the popular representative in the scheme of administration.

• "A third factor is the lack of understanding of the respective roles of the legislator or the democratic representative and of the civil servant. It is possible that a democratically elected person feels a certain helplessness, that he is not himself in a position to take administrative decisions, that this task is entrusted to an authority or an officer who is to act in his judgment. Perhaps, there is a sense of frustration. Perhaps, there is a sense of lack of power, possibly even of a certain inferiority complex. That tends to colour the relationship between the popular representatives and the public services. There is no ready cure for this. It can only be changed by a better understanding.

"I would like to mention one or two matters arising out of, as I said, this suspicion of motives. I refer to the system of parliamentary inquisitions over things that have been done. It is said that administration should be quick. But some of these inquisitions, whatever the underlying object, should also have that similar speed. I have a knowledge of a matter in which I and another very highly placed officer had been concerned with. It dates back to 1946 after we had popular Ministers in the Government of India. I understood that some time in 1955 this matter was the subject of certain investigations in the Public Accounts Committee. The Committee ultimately came to the conclusion that things were in order, but the initial approach to that transaction was one of an indiscretion committed, one of suspicion; and that conclusion was reached long after when perhaps memories were dulled. It certainly is somewhat demoralising, and I feel that the same rule of quickness or efficiency in handling matters might also be one of those guide posts which parliamentarians might adopt.

"On the relations between the Ministers and the civil servants, I agree that there is not nearly enough encouragement given to the civil servant, not nearly enough appreciation of work done. I recall a time in 1947, during the transfer of power, when we had some of the most stimulating discussions in Delhi with Sardar Patel who was then the Home Minister. I remember that one of his constant endeavours was to get at the civil servants, try to give them a sense of participation; he used to say, 'Well we have to build a new India. We want you also equally to take a hand in this adventure. You have as important a part to play as the politicians.' I can still recall the great sense of that. We had another experience in one of the States in which I worked some few years ago. There was a meeting of senior officers and the Chief Minister took up the other attitude. He said, 'The civil servant does not understand. He does not co-operate in the policies we want to pursue. He is an obstruction rather than help'.

I, as one of those who was present, tried to intervene and suggest that perhaps there is a good deal that is wrong with the civil servant, but that constant denunciation is perhaps not the best way of getting the best out of him. I know that that remark was not liked. Our subsequent experience in that State indicated that a change in attitude was taking place, but whether it has taken place sufficiently everywhere is still doubtful.

"One other experience of mine in one State was that ministerial action is not always sufficiently actuated by a regard for the Constitution and the law. I have recollection of a measure of apathy that was being adopted in that State. It related to certain matters of education. I remember that both myself and the law officers in the State very strongly advised against certain things because we felt that they would be unconstitutional. The reaction at that stage was—well, we need not overemphasise the legal mind. What we are doing is good and desirable. We shall fight this matter to the Supreme Court and if necessary again we shall see if the constitution could be amended. As it happened, of course, the actions taken were ultimately held to be unconstitutional. The point, therefore, is that respect for law and the Constitution, as they stand, should really actuate our actions and our decisions. There should not be an attitude in those matters which indicates an over-bearing sense of pawn.

"The informality of ministerial decisions at the secretariat level has been referred to. That is one of the great handicaps in administration. There is not enough of formal minutes and noting and decisions. I find from one of the papers circulated that great importance is attached to this in the U.K., but we have tended to take decisions in a more informal way. It creates embarrassments; it creates difficulties. As a guide for the future too, I think, we are left groping very much in the dark about the consideration, the shades of opinion which influenced certain decisions. At different levels, there ought to be more of formal decisions, formal recording of views and opinions.

"I wonder whether, as regards protection of the civil servants against influence at the political level, there is any merit in a suggestion which Rajaji made two or three years ago. It was that the civil servant should, as far as possible, be shielded from political influence in regard to service matters. He suggested that we should have something in the nature of a Civil Service Commission which will deal with all matters of discipline and advancement and assessment of merit of the public servant in so far as his career is concerned. Whether that is a practical arrangement and how far it will violate the political supremacy of the Ministers, I do not know; but that is certainly a suggestion which at one time seemed to be worth considering."

Endorsing the view expressed by a participant earlier, another participant was of the opinion that the civil servants have to accept the fact that they have to function in a democracy under certain stresses and strains. He said, "There was a lot of observations made about the respective roles of the legislators, the Ministers, the public in their relation between the public services and the world outside, with many of which I agree. It will be useful if civil servants try and see to what extent they have been organised to meet these stresses and strain, and to what extent they have developed safeguards and institutionalised these safeguards within the public services to meet the circumstances in which they have to function.

"With regard to the chairman's question about what will happen to an officer who behaves in a particular manner, a participant answering this question said that a civil servant must be able to take it, which, of course, is right answer. But then, I would submit that that by itself is not enough, because though a civil servant should be prepared to take the consequences of his actions, it is our business, or it is somebody's business, to see that certain safeguards are developed and that it would encourage the

civil servant to state his views or to act according to what he considers to be right. I do not say that these safeguards have not been developed to some extent. They have been; but I think it will be a worthwhile study to make either on behalf of the IIPA or some other authority to see whether these safeguards need to be strengthened. The sort of thing I have in mind is as to what extent have the civil servants been given the security of tenure which places them in a slightly stronger position when faced with such situations? It is common ground, for instance, that a purely temporary tenure does not make for that amount of security which is essential for fearless conduct and yet we know, whatever may be the reasons, there is still a very large proportion of purely temporary staff who have yet to get that security. Now, what can be done? As an officer of the Home Ministry till recently, I have come up against this problem and I know what are the difficulties. It is not my purpose now to relate those difficulties and to state what the official view on this matter is, but perhaps it is worthwhile for someone to go into these details to ascertain whether everything possible has been done to ensure that the number of temporary posts is reduced to the minimum. Similarly, in the matter of promotions, which I think, is a very important matter in maintaining the morale of the Civil Services, to what extent are our promotions influenced by extraneous considerations? There, again, certain safeguards do exist. The point is whether they are sufficient. We have, for instance, the system of the Union Public Service Commission and the Public Service Commission in States. In some cases, they have considerable say in the matter of promotion which ensures at least that the opinion of one individual, whether he is the political boss or even a Service boss, does not entirely make or mar the prospects of a civil servant, and that his performance is taken as a whole and assessed as a whole objectively by an independent authority. If such safeguards can be devised, I think, it will be more possible, than it has hitherto been, to expect that the civil servant will be able to speak out his mind fearlessly and act in the manner in which he thinks he should.

"Thirdly, there is a question of training, training which should develop certain attitudes. Now, I for myself feel, though this is only a question of personal feeling, it is a matter again which can be studied and some conclusions arrived at, that one of the reasons which bring a certain amount of unpopularity to a civil servant is the fact that at least, if not in a great majority, in a large number of cases, there is a certain rigidity in his attitude and this is very widespread. If there is a problem, whether the problem is a general one or supposing there is a complaint either from a member of the public or from a fellow civil servant, sometimes the tendency is to be rigid in the sense of saying that this is the rule on the subject, these are the precedents and therefore nothing can be done, often overlooking the fact that there is the other man's point of view—may be that the proposal he has made may not be entirely right, but perhaps there is something in it. We are sometimes more apt to turn down a proposal or to negative a proposal than to try and find out what prompts that proposal or to find an answer to a difficulty. One has to recognise that there is a problem behind many of the proposals and complaints which come up before Government. It is easy enough to say that this cannot be done but if those who have to say that this cannot be done, probably they say so very rightly, they sometimes feel that it is none of their business to say what should be done, what is the answer to the problem. I am saying all this not in criticism of the civil servant, nor to say at all that all the criticisms which are made in public, in the legislatures or in the Press are justified. I am only saying this to say that on our side whatever we do, these criticisms are bound to be there. Perhaps, there should not be, perhaps, I do hope that conventions will be developed on the lines which have been suggested in restricting criticism to really justifiable criticisms. But accepting the fact that the civil servants will have to function at least for some time to come within the stresses and strains to which they are subject today, I think, we should also see how we can meet those stresses and strains, whether we are sufficiently equipped either by way of institutional safeguards like considerations of, as I said promotions,

disciplinary matters by independent authorities, by the Public Service Commission, to meet these circumstances, because, by and large, this is a historical legacy coming from before independence era that the civil servant is looked upon by the public with a certain critical eye. That is a historical legacy, but we have to live that down. Very sweeping generalisations are made as we all know sometimes that there is a lot of corruption in the Civil Services. On that point again, being connected in the Home Ministry with the Administrative Vigilance Division for some time, I think the corruptions at least in the higher and middle levels of the Civil Service is in no way greater or is particularly great than it would perhaps be in most of the countries, but the public have this impression. Perhaps, the reason for that is that at certain levels—at certain lower levels, amongst officers who come in contact with the people more generally—there is good deal of corruption; we know, for instance, in certain levels, shall we say, in the railways, the booking clerk or the lower revenue staff, the settlement staff or among the junior ranks of the Public Works Department. These are the people who come in touch with the public and it is notorious that you cannot get a settlement entry changed unless you pay something or you cannot get your things booked by the railways quickly enough unless you pay something. It is that impression that becomes a general and universal and people talk of corruption in the Civil Services. I do not personally think that in the middle or higher levels there is any very great deal of corruption. There are one or two instances which, in a big institution like Government employing about four million people, are not significant. The number is by no means very large. Here again, there is another very interesting aspect of study. On the other hand, I feel that our efforts to combat corruption is very largely restricted to these few institutions at the higher levels because I suppose they make very interesting stories. We take for granted that a petty settlement officer is bound to be corrupt. A Magistrate's peshkar has to be given a couple of rupees and we do not bother about it. I do not know if we have really done enough in the Government to root out corruption at these levels, particularly at the levels of these officials who come directly in contact with the people. We shall be making a contribution to this problem of morale in the public services if we can study these various things, namely, to what extent we have taken effective steps to combat corruption, not necessarily in a few sensational cases, which catch the public eye but in the large number of cases, particularly where the Government officials meet the public.

"Further, are we giving the right training to civil servants in all ranks to give a positive answer to the problems which arise instead of just putting forward difficulties which undoubtedly exist and giving a negative answer that nothing can be done? I will cite exactly what I have in mind. Supposing, you go to a post office in a country like England. Well, the person behind the counter will probably help you. You probably want to send out a parcel. The person behind the counter will help you and would let you exactly know what you are to do. Here, in our country, on the other hand, you are supposed to fill a form and if there is just a mistake, which it is more likely to be, he will turn down your form. We were told a story by a senior officer in Government. He was on holiday when he received an insured parcel. Under the post office rules, I believe, the addressee has to be identified by the post office official. As it happened, in that post office nobody knew this officer. Now, he produced his Central Secretariat identity card. He produced his identity card but nothing could satisfy him. He must be identified by the Post Master and ultimately he did not get the parcel. That happened to a person who is obviously fairly well-known. Such things will happen, more so to those who are certainly not well-known. If the post office official could not trust this officer, who, from his identity card should have been known to be a senior officer of the Central Government, I am sure he will not at all deliver the parcel to a villager who may happen to come along. That attitude to help the public, to find the way out may be the real thing. But, there may be a way of getting over the difficulty, but that attitude to help should be found out. I do not

mean to say that it is the attitude of the Government servants alone. I suppose it happens everywhere, even in the private business houses. You walk into a shop and we often get the impression that the shopkeeper is obliging us by selling to us. While in other countries, at least in more commercially conscious countries, the salesman will probably talk you into buying something. So, I do not think this is a particular characteristic of the civil servants in this country but in a way this is a thing on which we can concentrate our attention and perhaps to some extent improve matters by a process of training. Is our training at the various level of civil servants adequate to create the right attitude and meet the circumstances which exists today? We must concentrate on internal safeguards and build up a Civil Service which will be able to take stresses and strains and more and more even unfair criticisms."

Another participant invited attention of the Conference to one aspect of the question of stresses and strains, which, according to him, did not receive sufficient attention. He referred to certain social factors in the relations between the legislators and the civil servants, particularly those occupying positions on the higher rungs of the ladder. He said, "To my mind, it appears that there is very wide gap in the social background and the intellectual equipment and the approach to problems between the legislators—taking the legislators by and large, though exceptions are there—and the civil servants. I am taking the civil servants also by and large. You have a problem whether there does not seem to be a common ground on which the two can speak on the same topic and be understood by each other. The same problem faced the Government of U.K., when the Labour Government took office in the thirties, when majority in Parliament had a feeling that the Civil Service did not co-operate. In our country, the social gaps between the legislators and the civil servants are of even greater importance in building up their relationship. There is a sense of suspicion on the part of the legislators that the civil servants who have a comparatively better position in the Services are much better off than many a legislator and tend to become indifferent to the public good. The civil servant also views the scene in the same distrustful way. So, there is a somewhat cold approach on the part of the civil servants, by and large, which from the public point of view may be a callous approach, and as was justifiably pointed out, the tendency is sometimes to exaggerate the difficulties in the way of a desirable policy. We have to realise that the legislator is not likely to remain satisfied with continuing things as they are. As a matter of fact, he does not know very much the established traditions. He expects the civil servant to deliver the goods. The civil servant is not likely in the present circumstances to establish a greater degree of communication with the legislator. That is a problem which can be solved neither by an established code of conduct nor by conventions because it is something which is a social phenomena and a solution has to be found in a change in the social situation. At present, the requirements laid down for most of our legislators are outdated. They have nothing to do with the kind of parliamentary activity to which they are called upon to devote their time as members of the legislatures. They are selected on entirely different criteria and it is these legislators who are put in the position of authority irrespective of whether they can determine or feel they can determine things for their constituents and for the country.

"On the side of the civil servants, there is not merely rigidity of outlook but there is perhaps far greater attachment to a certain ideal type of relationship between the civil servants and the legislators. Many of us are bound to rely on British experience and British traditions which were determined under an entirely different set of circumstances. It has been quite well-known that in Britain, the civil servants and the leaders of the party in power during the whole of the 19th century belonged to the same social class. Though formally they were separated, there were so many points of contact between the leaders of the public, the legislators and the civil servants that they thought and worked much in the same way. Their minds worked in the same way. When the Labour Party came

to power for the first time, the civil servants found that they could not see eye to eye with the legislators. Their political superiors were brought up in an entirely different ideology, entirely different concepts of the policies that the Government should pursue in regard to the regulation of society. Something very similar to that has happened in our country and there is room for adjustment on the side of the civil servant as well. It happens that the civil servants—and I hope no one will take as a personal offence—do tend to adopt a somewhat superior attitude to the members of the legislature. It is true, they may be socially inferior, and educationally far less advanced. But if you adopt that kind of attitude then you merely add to the general sense of hostility or at least antipathy between the two elements who have to work in close collaboration if the work of Government has to be done in a proper way. In the first place, we have to allow a certain time to pass before relations become more normal. The next generation of political leaders is likely to be quite different from the present generation and I hope that there will be an improvement from the point of view of the parliamentary activity which the legislators have to undertake. Secondly, there has to be a readjustment in our ideas as to the exact relationship between the legislators and the public servants. I do not think that the British parliamentary type or the British type is the only type of parliamentary democracy that is possible to adopt. There are other instances. For instance, there is the Swedish instance. There, the public servant criticises the Minister. Yet, it is a parliamentary democracy. But they have a different institutional set-up. We have got to be very different in our approach. I think that this arises out of our attachment to a particular way of looking at the problems of parliamentary democracy. I do not know whether in relation to the growing responsibility of Government following from the adoption of a planned economy, assuming that the private sector goes on progressively diminishing and the public sector increasing, which means that so many more burdens are placed on the Government—I do not know whether the present approach would enable the Opposition to be strong enough to criticise the Government and alternately to take power—that sort of approach to parliamentary democracy is really not in line with the new factor which has arisen. The new factor is that we have started on a planned economy. We have adopted an approach which the British did not adopt when the main lines of their traditions were set. If there is a certain target, if there is a certain dead line which has to be observed, I think, the whole procedure of our approach will have to be changed.

“I had the impression while the members were contributing to this discussion that they make a certain virtue, which has been accepted by long established practice of the right Secretariat procedure to be followed in this country. I do not know whether there is any special significance attached to this procedure. We talk in terms of delegation in one breath. We say again that there is a great virtue in the record being kept completely. Two or three people note on that and the whole case is prepared. Are the two really consistent? Are we not working at cross purposes? There has to be, I think, a more open minded approach to the problem of the working of a parliamentary democracy within the context of a planned economy and the British example may not be the only example that we have to follow in this country. I think that arising out of the adoption of the planned economy and consistent with the methods of a democratic Government, it is worth considering whether as a result of a basic agreement between the Government and the Opposition, a number of questions could not be lifted out of the parliamentary sphere and put on a purely technical level, so that the civil servants would have the last word because they are technical experts in the matter. Parliament would have nothing to do with them except in a general way. We have to think in some such terms. The remedy has to be found in a greater collaboration between the Opposition and the Government, which is quite feasible inasmuch as the problems with which we are at present dealing are problems which affect the public sector; and in regard to those problems it should not be difficult to establish some sort of a common agreement between the Opposition and the Government after a

proper approach and proper effort is made. If that agreement is there, then it would be possible to lift a number of questions from the sphere of controversy altogether and put them on a purely technical level. The absence of such a development is the reason why there is such bitter criticism of the administration from the Opposition, particularly because that is the only way in which the Opposition can make itself felt. There are no informal methods or adequate formal methods by which the Opposition can feel that it can also participate in the work of building up the country. I do not think that it is proper to lay down any rules about the extent to which the Opposition can criticise the Government. That could be done as a result of an informal understanding between the Government and the Opposition. I think, as two participants said earlier, that a good deal of re-thinking of the whole situation in a fundamental way is necessary. It is no use attaching too much importance to the British practice or to rules."

Another speaker said, "We have got to really administer some kind of remedies which will build up the morale of the public servant, and I think this Conference should suggest measures which will hasten this process.

"I would say that the civil servants are the servants of the people, but they have a chain of responsibility through the Ministers and through the Parliament to the people. And, it is but natural that to the extent that the civil servants are answerable to an immediate superior, they will be more influenced by the way their relationship exists with their immediate superiors than with the more remote superiors. I think it would be more correct to say that criticism of the people at large is not so much demoralising as criticism by the legislators. And, in turn, again the way in which the civil servants and the Ministers function between themselves affects more the morale of the civil servant. In our way of democracy, I agree with the views of the previous participant that other kinds of democracy are possible, but we have, I think, first decided to build on what we inherited and secondly, in our Constitution we have definitely laid down the broad lines on which we will function and it would not help matters at this late stage to suggest changing the system. That is a very major issue and I do not know whether we should proceed on this. Certainly, the civil servants will not change overnight just because you feel so. We have got to face realities as they are and anything that we have adopted, we have to, by and large, go on that very model. Of course, of late, we have perhaps developed our own concepts in India. We will perhaps function in our democratic set-up also not in the same way as Britain does it. But, by and large, the same spirit is behind it. So, from the point of view of our concept of democracy, I would suggest that we consider building at something which is already there and in that context we see how the morale of the civil servant would improve. At least he has certain expectations of how people around him will function, and it is on that that his morale will depend. I feel in this type of democracy, the Minister holds a very high and a very key position. They are not only the certified leaders of the people being thrown up through the process of elections, but in fact as they function today, they are able to influence the tone of the administration. The type of debates that take place in the legislature and the type of lead that is given to the country, by and large, and therefore, some of us who have remarked on the relationship between the civil servant and the Minister have not done it for any other reason but for the fact that how they function, *vis-a-vis*, the civil servant, is perhaps of the greatest importance for the morale of the civil servant.

"The Chairman had mentioned that we might indicate some concrete things which affect the morale of the civil servants in such matters. I would like to put a few things out of my experience. One of the biggest dampers on the morale of the civil servant is the attitude of indecision, wavering and a vacillation which might be in a Minister, who refuses to take a decision or who will defer decisions either because it is

unpalatable or the time is not opportune. In the ruling parties themselves, often you hear bickerings which shall make it uncertain whether a particular set of Ministers or a particular Minister will continue in office or not. This again is not very good for the morale of the administration. They are all looking up whether this man is going to continue and if so, for how long. And, naturally, their whole tempo of work gets geared accordingly. Sometimes, a Minister may have the habit of publicly or otherwise letting down or belittling a civil servant which again is not very good for his morale. Sometimes, instead of giving encouragement to an official who may have done good work, they may try to belittle him or try to put him down in his work. That again is not encouraging for the civil servant who does not want publicity but who does, as a human being, requires a little recognition of his work. Then, again, the Minister also must have some definite ideas of how his department is functioning. If there is a Minister who is not bothered as to how his department functions, he has no particular opinion about it, this also is not good. It is better to be critical and say that he is not satisfied about certain things rather than to be apathetic about it. Sometimes a wrong or a patently wrong decision if it is taken that again will not bring about the enthused encouragement in the implementation of the policies of the Government by the civil servant. And, lastly, if unfortunately there is for a particular Minister some reputation which is not very edifying, it is not very very healthy for the morale of the civil servant. These few things affect the morale whenever they are present.

“Then, as regards Parliament and the legislators, I think, it is too late in the day for any civil servant to feel that Parliament is not sovereign and does not have that high position which is there. I think we are all conscious of it. But, unfortunately, in some of the legislatures, for what reasons one cannot say, there seems to be a tendency to reaffirm that sovereignty or that high position in various ways which do not tend to heighten the morale of the public services. This comes out not only in the Press but also in the different parliamentary committees. Now, this is some thing which happens in America and a reference is made to it in America that heavens do not fall there. But, I think, it would be a sad day if our parliamentary committees started functioning in the same way as they do in America. It does not make the morale there. And, I think, even in America, it is acknowledged that some of these Committees—McCarthy Law Committee, for instance—have done enough damage to the morale of the political structure in America. And, now, I do not blame anyone particularly for this. I think, the whole mechanism of the Government is a very complex thing and I think there are not very many inside the Government who know all about it or how it functions in various ways. And, the same can be said about our legislatures as well. I am reminded of an instance which was quoted to me in America where they have the system of political civil services. These political civil servants are brought in by the administration from very high quarters—Universities, Bar and so on. In those professions, there are very high educational standards. A few of them are connected with the administration in the Universities and a lot of them might have written books on administration. But, I was told that the average tenure of these people in their departments where they got posted is about ten months. The reason was that they came in with a suspicion of the way the Government were working. They thought that they knew much more about it as to how it ought to work. And, certainly, academically and otherwise they were more qualified but one of the first things that was done there and rightly done was to give them a few days training about a department or an agency in which they take office and gradually they started learning the ideas with which they came and they found after a time that there was a choice between either reshaping their own ideas to suit that of the department. The point that I want to draw from this is that it is not the legislators that inherently want to criticise the civil servants or the people at large. It is often as a result of the ignorance about the way the Government machinery functions. So, we might think of educating our masters at the legislative level

and even at the wider level. What form this will take is a matter for discussion. It can be that the parties themselves should have some kind of a unit with the help of which the legislators can be appraised about the way Government functions. The instruction should not only be given from the point of view of civil servants but from the point of view of healthier functioning and good relationship between Ministers and their other partymen. This can be done under the aegis of Parliament at the Centre and Legislatures in the States. In the State from which I come, I have noticed a practice which I thought it to be healthy and probably it was not utilised adequately. There, several talks were arranged by departmental heads to acquaint the Ministers with the way a department was functioning. If a process of that kind was undertaken, then this gap of mutual ignorance could be eliminated so as to make for healthier relationship and the same could be said for the people at large. This might make for better understanding, lesser criticism or at least healthier criticism and heighten morale. Perhaps, this might be some thing which could be put into the curricula of our schools as part of ordinary civic training”.

Another participant made three observations on some of the things that he heard. He said, “One point that was made was the quality of legislators, Members of Parliament, Ministers, etc., and how they fall short of the ideal and make difficulties for the administration. Another criticism that has been voiced repeatedly is the difficulty of administrators in adjusting themselves to the new environment of democratic administration. Both these lines of thought appear to me to be grievances which have no redress. We will have the Members of Parliament, Members of the Legislatures and the Ministers who will be thrown up by elections. We will have the civil servants who are recruited from the best available talent in India in accordance with the present system which could be improved upon but the position will continue to be the same. The human material from which recruitment is made is the best available and it belongs to the soil. We cannot import from abroad. A lot has also been said about the hostility or a tendency to criticise the administrators generally.

“To me, it appears that during the last eleven years, the process has slowly changed and things have improved. When independence came and the administrative machinery was taken over by leaders responsible to the people, naturally they felt that the machine should deliver goods according to their wishes and whenever they could not carry out whatever programme they had hundred per cent, obviously, the tendency was to blame the machine. The machine itself and its parts were old. The machine was cracking. They, in their turn, tried to put all the blame on the Ministers, who showed lack of wisdom and failed to give proper guidance. So, this process of criticising each other does not lead us anywhere. We have got the machine, the best that we could have from our country. We have got the Parliament, the Legislatures and the Ministers that the people have thrown up. Neither can change.

“A lot has been said about the indifference or superiority complex of the administrators in general. I cannot see why people regard administrators to be behaving under a superiority complex except perhaps occasionally when we had in the earlier years a tendency on the part of civil servants to go and make policy statements to the Press. This has, however, changed.

“The ideal appears to be that so far as civil servants in a democratic set-up are concerned, they should be, if I may quote a Sanskrit phrase, ‘*Jal Kamalwat*’, i.e., ‘living in the political world with the legislators in Parliament, with the Ministers, with the members of the public drawing all their strength, their wisdom, their sense of values on the basis of mixing with the public, Members of Parliament and yet, at the same time, keeping above the flood level of public opinion or opinions of Members

of Parliament or Ministers and not getting submerged or soaked even if drops of water—public prejudices or emotional reactions—do fall on them; like the lotus leaf, they should not get wet'. It is an ideal that we should try to strive for.

"The second point is about the strains and stresses of democracy and the morale of the public services. It is necessary that a civil servant should be objective and independent in the way he gives his views and advises his chief at any level. At the same time, independence does not mean impudence nor does objectivity mean defiance. As one of my colleagues said, it is our job as civil servants to educate our masters. By and large, I have worked for about six years with Ministers both at the Centre and in the States and I found, I am sure that is also the experience of my other colleagues, that the Ministers, whatever their shortcomings may be, whether they may be vacillating in their judgment, or slow in taking decisions, do take advice and, if I may become emphatic enough to say something within the confines of these walls, Governments in India both at the Centre and in the States are, to a very large extent, run by the civil servants. We do get occasional cases of odd clashes between civil servants and Ministers. That is something which is entirely different. It may be based on prejudice or perhaps on a desire to consolidate one's position and the clash occurs, because the civil servant-politician relationship is getting settled and adjusted.

"We heard a participant talking about corruption—the question of a Registrar of Documents taking two rupees and a Postmaster trying to get a couple of rupees on a registered insured parcel. To my mind, this corruption is rather overemphasised. We will have the normal amount of corruption that prevails in society, among the civil servants as well. To my mind, a couple of rupees taken by an odd employee here or lower civil servants there, is rather immaterial. If the job is done quickly and the consumer pays him two rupees, I am not worried to the same extent. There is corruption of another type and a more serious one which vitiates the machine as a whole and which should be tackled properly. The corruption I refer to is the tendency to perpetuate authority and influence, a tendency which occurs at all levels of Civil Service both at the Centre and the States, which is particularly dangerous at the upper levels and which, to a very large extent, is responsible for the lowering of morale of about four million and odd civil servants to whom a participant referred. I have had occasion to talk to the junior civil servants both at the Centre and States, but almost invariably they come to the position that they suffer in service unless they have sponsors. That, I say, is the real trouble in the morale of the Civil Service. The bulk of the people in the Civil Service, who are good, get frustrated because of this feeling that they can't progress without sponsors. While we have various safeguards, various institutions, such as the Public Service Commissions, both at the Centre and the States, something more is necessary to institutionalise the arrangements by which no civil servant of any category will be placed in a position of authority for more than three to five years in the same place, in the same set-up. This will prevent this throwing his weight about or misusing his authority. It will also prevent, which, I think, is most important, an atmosphere being built up by which people might think that X, whom he knows or who likes him or his work, is in a particular position and he can help if there is any need. The change will also help in preventing what I may call the hardening of bureaucratic arteries which results from doing the same kind of job year after year. This institutional framework is necessary whether we are dealing with a Central Ministry or State Ministry or with a particular executive in an area. As Deputy Commissioner or Collector of District, one stays for three years or so. He may not be corrupt but his colleagues in whom he has confidence, who may be working very well so far as he is concerned and have established their connections on the basis of good work, some of them may be corrupt and once they are sure of the confidence of the boss, they continue to be corrupt, the rot starts. This can only be arrested by periodic changes.

"Finally, I would make one request to my friends of the Press world. Never, as far as possible, mention a civil servant by name either to praise him or to condemn him. By all means, comment adversely or favourably on something that has happened, something to which he might have contributed, but singling out individuals either for praise or condemnation is a thing which does serious damage both ways. Because a certain person is praised for something which he is supposed to have done or is doing, the immediate tendency amongst the bulk of public servants is to do something spectacular that gets him such public praise. At the same time, if a person is condemned or criticised by name, this results in the withering of the initiative or courage that the individual civil servant may have otherwise shown in his job. That applies also to legislators and Members of Parliament. It is a co-operative effort on the part of all of us, whether we are placed in public service, or we are placed in parliamentary bodies or executive bodies or in business or in the municipal world, wherever we are, we have to assist in the growth of healthy Civil Service."

The Chairman, concluding this particular topic, said, "In regard to promotions, it is my belief that the Public Service Commission do not say from what date the promotions take place. They only advise on the competence for promotion. I asked this question because in one State in order that a particular favoured Government servant should have seniority in a university which has taken over certain Government colleges, where the seniority is determined as among seconded people, a person has been recently promoted six years after the establishment of the university with retrospective effect from a date one day previous to the establishment of the university, obviously with the object of ensuring that he will be the senior-most of all other professors. Now, I do not know what remedy there is against an incident of this kind.

"Then in regard to the somewhat pessimistic view taken by one of the participants that there is no redress to certain things, so far as recruitment is concerned, I wonder whether a change in the educational system with a far larger number of scholarships would not give far greater opportunities to a wider circle of people. That is to say, if the allegation is that—how far it is true one has no means of knowing because things are changing before our eyes—larger and larger social classes are being tapped. But if there is a feeling at the back of our mind, as I find there is, that by and large, Government servants, including judges, hail from the classes with stakes, whereas for a progressive social order, you want people from the classes which are going to be benefited by the furtherance of this socialistic order and it has been suggested that the sooner one gives chance to young persons from these classes, who, in the normal course, would not be able to afford education may be, a quicker change will come about. This is irrespective of any judgment as to whether the present civil servants are adjusting themselves to changed conditions quickly enough or not. And, if my view is required, I would say, 'They have adjusted themselves remarkably well because they really have not been affected'. The whole change is a change from law and order to development. It is not likely to raise an uncomfortable antithesis in the minds of Government servant. Therefore, I think that this matter of maladjustment is very largely exaggerated. Nevertheless, I thought I would mention this point of view which was mentioned to me by some people and there might, it appears to my mind, be an element of truth in it.

"What we are concerned with here is four cases, viz., of a good Minister and good officer, a good Minister and a bad officer, a bad Minister and good officer and a bad Minister and a bad officer. Obviously, with a good Minister and a good officer, you do not want to do anything because the morale is not affected. With a bad Minister and a bad officer, I would agree with one of the participants who said that nothing can be done. Therefore, we are concerned with a good Minister but a bad officer, and that point was really not brought into prominence till now. There are many officers who

are indifferent as one participant thinks that it is easier to say 'No' because 'Yes' means further work. There is a large degree of soullessness in the work of officers at all levels and there is also this tendency to build little empires and to keep the Minister in ignorance of what is happening. I have known of cases where a Minister was not in the know for a couple of months about a letter addressed to the Minister on a very important point. The Minister expressed surprise when he was told about it. A Minister cannot have the time to read the papers. This has happened in two of the fairly well governed States—I will not name them. In both cases, the Minister was very angry that such an important letter had not been put up to him by his officer. There are bad officers. That does not seem to be a question of training or refresher courses. It is just that they are not giving of their best. Our hope is that many people are not irredeemably bad and that, as somebody said, it is surprising how quickly morale will change. It will change not because of training, although, all this is important but it will change because of fear of being found out or losing reputation. There must be a machinery first of finding out what are the good qualities and secondly, of discovering where there is a lapse from these qualities so that one may deal with the situation as one finds it. I do not expect that there will be a great deal of difficulty in dealing with bad officers and I now mean all along the line although I have taken only two instances. All this can be intelligently applied—there are researches, studies etc.—and one can find out where the lapse is. Whether you have a good Minister or what should be the good qualities for a Minister, is essentially a matter of good education. We want as Ministers people who are uncommitted to private ends or who are earnestly interested in the objective of good Government. We want efficiency and morale, our plans to prosper, and indeed our Government to deliver the goods. If the objective is a commendable one, then it should be possible to bring home the importance of selecting good Ministers because if bad Ministers are there all kinds of consequences will follow, including the consequences of failure of safeguards. You may build in a lot of safeguards but the safeguards will be calculated to take care of the average situation. They cannot take care of excessive pressures. Therefore, it seems to me very necessary to have good and able Ministers. I agree that so far as our masters are concerned, just as our parents, we cannot choose them, except that we have a very very small insignificant choice in the case of legislators, although not in the case of parents. So, it seems to me that we may leave legislators where they are, till we may perhaps improve education. But that is a very long process and there is no means of improving it except perhaps again drawing attention of the people who count, people with whom our recommendations must weigh that tickets need not be given to people who are declared to be unworthy or people who are known to be unworthy in their neighbourhoods. There are many cases where tickets are given to the people only with the idea that a Reddy should fight a Reddy, a Rajput, a Rajput, and Jat, a Jat and so on. I do not care which political party, but if political parties were to understand the importance of sending more capable people on their own merit rather than just nominees of people with influence, then something could be done, but leaving that field aside, it seems to me that someone must realise first what constitutes a good Minister.

“Secondly, here and now, the party in power must take the necessary steps in order to ensure that, by and large, the Ministers they choose pass that test, that when young people are appointed as Parliamentary Secretaries and Deputy Ministers and so on, the period of probation perhaps should be long enough to enable a judgment to be passed because sometimes very quick promotion also brings false ideas to people who are promoted.”

TOPIC IV

PUBLIC SERVANTS AND THE PUBLIC

From the Working Paper :

If the public personnel enjoys good prestige in the community, it will have a stimulating effect upon morale. Of course, too much of prestige is also not desirable, and this will make a public service a caste within the community. On the other hand, if the public servants do not enjoy the confidence of the people and are subjected to criticism which is exaggerated or bitter, morale within the administration will be depressed.

There can be several reasons for maladjustments in the relationship between the public personnel and the people. The public servants may be discourteous to the common man either because of ruling complex which they may have developed or because they are so overworked as to have grown impatient. The higher officers may adopt a condescending or patronising attitude towards the members of the public which may be galling, particularly to the well educated ones. Again, if the public servants do not effectively and speedily deal with complaints, representations and applications of the common man, their prestige in the community will suffer. Thirdly, if the public servants do not enjoy a reputation for scrupulous honesty, their stock will be low in the eyes of the public. Fourthly, if the public servants indulge in favouritism and partiality while carrying on administrative activities, they will lose the trust of the people. Fifthly, if they are vague or evasive in their verbal replies or in their correspondence, the people will not think well of them.

At times, the public servants are misunderstood by the people. It may be because the public servants have not kept the people well-informed about the underlined purpose of the administrative activities. It may be that some of the vested interests try to distort the public opinion in regard to the activities of some public servants. Again, sometimes the press may indulge in bitter unprovoked attacks on public servants in order to produce sensational news for their readers or out of personal grievance against particular public servants.

In a developing democracy, like that of India, there is a great need for a proper understanding and mutual respect between the people and the public servants. This will not only make for more effective public co-operation without which public administration cannot accomplish much but it will also have a healthy effect upon the morale of public services.

Finally, morale of Government employees is influenced by some factors not fully controllable by Government activities, e.g., prestige of Government itself.

The following questions deserve examination :

- (1) What measures are needed for bringing about an emotional integration of the public services with the community?
- (2) What measures are needed to remove discourtesy on the part of the man sitting behind the official desk?
- (3) What can be done to remove unnecessary administrative delays and to deal effectively with public grievance?

- (4) What steps are needed to improve the reputation for integrity in public services?
- (5) What can be done to remove vagueness or evasiveness in official replies to the members of the public?
- (6) How can a better understanding be promoted between the public services and the press?

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Opening the discussion, a member said, "Talking of the public and the civil servants, I would very briefly refer to some cases. Five years ago, an English Professor of Public Administration who happened to be in a State capital walked with me to a post office and said 'I would not like to be guided because I would like to form my own impression about lower bureaucracy in India'. With a small parcel he stood in front of the window in the post office and he found that it took about twenty to thirty minutes to reach the window. By that time he had grown impatient because the clerk was taking too long to dispose of each customer. So he thought that the man was either not properly trained or there was so much pressure of work that he had lost his efficiency. After some time, when he reached the window and being used to the English ways, he thought that perhaps the clerk would ask him : 'Can I help you?' Instead of saying this, the clerk said : 'What do you want?' Then, when the Professor presented the parcel, the clerk said that it had not been properly packed. He said : 'how can I improve it?' The clerk replied, 'it is not for me to say. If you are staying in a hotel, you may ask your bearer to do it'. This is the type of bureaucracy in India; either it is due to the old lingering authoritarian complex, or sometimes it is due to over work, sometimes it is due to bad training and sometimes it is due to the fact that the clerk is paid so little that he is under-nourished and four to five hours of work tires him out. That is one case but our influence of British bureaucracy and a sense of prestige which the bureaucracy entices has very important impact on the morale of our people and this is the irritation of those who have British influence and also of the educated Indians who want a quick and courteous service. But, this is not merely in India that these things happen. When I was in England, a few years back, I found that, during the famous Crichton Down Case which involved much controversy, I found that after the case, the Treasury had issued a circular to all the Departments that it was not efficiency alone which was expected from civil servants and not only honesty alone, but due regard to the feeling of the people with whom civil servants deal. The circular went round and it gave a feeling that even in a mature democracy like Britain, civil servants could make errors in dealing with the public. It is not the question of some civil servants going astray, the whole question is that power complex would be there in a bureaucracy and unless there are effective democratic checks, comprehensive and sound checks, bureaucracy even in a country like Britain could behave in a high-handed fashion. I will relate another case which happened in England. It was about a year back. One Member of Parliament, without disclosing his identity, wrote to a number of departments on different subjects seeking their help. Some Departments did not reply to him at all; out of the remaining, some sent him rather vague reply and only a few sent him the rather helpful reply. He thought that the civil servants had to be shaken up for taking up this unhelpful attitude.

There are two other cases, one of them relates to the impact of casteism and communalism upon the morale of the civil servants, and the second relates to the attitude of the Ministers towards the Civil Service in public. These cases are drawn from two States—the Punjab, and Bihar.

First, take the case of the attitude of the Ministers towards civil servants. A few years back, the I.A.S. and the I.P.S. Association, presented a memorandum to the

Chief Minister saying that if Ministers go about in the public making wild allegations about them instead of telling them within the Department what is really wrong with them, it is certainly not going to help their morale. The Chief Minister gave some sort of vague reply. The situation, however, improved a little later, but the fact remained that some of the Ministers did not exercise the proper self-restraint while talking in public about administrative matters. Not only this, but there was also a case, a little later, in the Punjab again, when the Transport Minister and the Transport Secretary having developed strained relations, because of certain departmental matters, the Minister had gone to the extent of publicly criticising the action of the Transport Secretary. A few months later, the Transport Secretary was suspended. He was a very high ranking officer belonging to the Indian Civil Service. Certainly, there was lowering of the prestige of the civil servants. Not that I want the civil servants to enjoy too much prestige. This would be inconsistent with democracy. But I would also not like them to enjoy too low a prestige. The question is of equilibrium.

"Hence, I somehow feel that the Departments, instead of having only the O. & M. Units doing work in a mechanical way, should have Efficiency Units which would partly carry on the O. & M. operations and partly carry on the attitude surveys, because let us not forget that we are not living in an ideal society. There is a need for concrete study in every Department as to what is really wrong with the attitude of the employees to their work. These attitude surveys will indicate the remedies. So, we have to find out to what extent the mechanical work of the O. & M. Division should be supplemented by the attitude surveys.

Another member said, "I fully agree with the Chairman when he said that the Services have adjusted themselves remarkably well to the present situation, and, therefore, I think there is a genuine desire amongst the majority of the people, by and large, of all Services to deal with the public in a better manner, in a changed manner. What, to my mind, still lacking is the technique of dealing with the public. The desire is there. I can say it because I have also to deal with the public. One thing I would like to tell because there are so many people here who belong to the services. The common man does not so much mind if the result is not achieved. But he does mind when he does not get a patient hearing. That is one of the things which is very much on the nerves of most people. You can well imagine how very difficult it is to meet the demands of thousands and thousands of people in a constituency. Admittedly, it is not possible to meet their desires and wishes. If we are courteous to them it will make a lot of difference, even though the purpose for which they approach you is not served. For instance, if you offer a chair to a person who comes to meet you will make a world of difference, even though nothing may be done. So it is very essential that one should have the patience. If one explains to them sincerely and nicely the difficulties and thereby expresses his inability to do a particular thing, I think it will make a lot of difference than if you do not hear them properly."

The Chairman enquired, "Is it your general impression that Ministers set a good example in regard to some of these qualities?"

The reply was in the affirmative.

One participant, the belonging to Police Service, said, "Police is one single unit of administration in the country, as I said before, which touch the people at so many points, and therefore are the most visible signs of government. Necessarily, the public relations in this department should receive special attention. We perhaps hold the cake for discourtesy in the country. An average policeman is known to be discourteous. But, may I submit, that neither Government, nor the Planning Commission have

thought of the Police at all in respect of advancement in these matters. Being a non-plan department, we can spend not a pie more than what we spent ten years ago and I do not see how a country's economy can progress satisfactorily when you have not included a department which can really deliver the goods on behalf of Government in the Plan for progress. The questions that have been posed in the Working Paper are certainly thought-provoking and need answer. My first answer to the subject of public relations is that there can be no short-cut to efficiency and so long as we are not efficient, people will never respect us. How much we can be efficient is the first question? Almost everyday we are comparing ourselves with the London police because that is considered to be the best police force in the world, particularly for courtesy they are certainly known to be the best. We cannot compare with a London Bobby, in the sense that he is far more educated than our constables and that he gets the same emoluments as a Superintendent of Police gets in this country. So, if you want to have honest and efficient men, then you must pay for it. Honesty and efficiency do require some sacrifice at some stage. Government must think about it as to how you are going to get good and honest men. We are paying sixty rupees, all told, to a constable. Now, that pay is not likely to attract the right type of men that you want.

"Then, as regards the administrative difficulties, the Police particularly suffer from lot of antipathy at the higher level. There is lot of stumping, if I may say so, of the departmental head by the Secretariat. I am going to be quite frank and I hope I shall not be misunderstood. The delays that occur in examining proposals made by the departmental heads go to undermine not only the authority of the head of the Police but also leads to a certain amount of lowering the morale. So, some kind of a method has to be evolved for better understanding, better integration between the departmental head and the administrative department. Unless that is done, I am afraid, not much progress can be made in regard to improving public relations.

"Then the question comes about integrity. I am glad that the previous speakers did not mention about the reputation that our lower ranks enjoy with regard to corruption. There again, unfortunately, we have an unsavoury reputation. How are we to remove corruption? We want bigger and better men to man the various ranks. Then, about the relationship that exists between this Service and the press—it is forbidden for the Police to contact the Press. But, unfortunately, the tendency has been that the Press have been going very consistently to the Police at all levels to try to get some news. Therefore, in this process, there is a lot of misunderstanding between the Press and the Police. So, we have got to think a lot about it and to find out a solution whether we are going to debar the Police from coming in contact with the Press as it was done in the British days or whether we should do something about it. There should be a common procedure adopted in order to remove misunderstanding as far as possible."

The Chairman asked the member, "Is any one of you engaged in studying the crime figures in this country for the last ten years, and the figures of crimes investigated, taken to court and ending in conviction or finally sent to appeal, because, as I go round the country, my impression is that crime has increased absolutely in almost every district to the point of almost approaching the breakdown of law and order. Further, that the percentage of the cases which end in conviction is getting smaller, with interference at the initial stage—at the time of writing of the daily diary itself—arrangements are made that although the diary looks all right there are a few technical flaws known only to the officers as well as to some of the pleaders so that an acquittal in appeal is always certain. Would you like to say anything on that?"

Answering the question, the member said, "As regards crime, I may submit that the incidence of crime to population in India is much lower than that in England, or any other more advanced country in the world. The fact is, that more publicity is

now given to the cases of crime than in the past. Thus, people get the impression that crime is increasing steeply in India. People do not realise that the rise in crime is not greater in India since the last world war than it has been in any other country. For example, in England, France, Turkey and America, crime has gone up by over 300 per cent since the war. In India, there has not been any increase worth the name in the more staple forms of crime like burglaries and theft in spite of increase in population. There are one or two classes of crime—dacoity and riot—which would not occur in advanced countries. There are rural crimes over which the Police can have very little control. Organised as we are, we cannot possibly function efficiently in the rural areas. It is not possible for the Police to check this kind of rural and mediaeval crime without the help of the village community.”

A speaker raising a point with regard to the unfortunate observance of double standards in the country, said, “I am not referring to any reports which are far from having any foundation. I am referring to the resolution passed by the Congress High Command about an important Minister in a State who was found guilty of constructive responsibility, as it was said, for serious irregularities committed by members of his family and yet that gentleman continues to occupy the same high office. What influence can such a Minister have on the administration of that State?

“Frequently, Ministers in high places break regulations which lesser mortals are expected to observe. At election time, Ministers undertake tours in the constituencies in which bye-elections are taking place at Government expense. I think, all these are matters which do affect the morale of the Services very profoundly.”

Another member thought, “Before we are asked what steps are needed to improve the reputation for integrity in public services, the point arises ‘do we want to improve reputation or do we want to improve the standards of integrity’. There is a point in the improvement of reputation too, because the improvement of reputation, whether it has the basis for raising the standards of integrity or not, might raise the morale of the people at large. But I would like to be quite clear on these, as the morale of the public just now is very low, *vis-a-vis*, the public services—an impression which may be a completely wrong one. The impression is that you cannot get anything done through the public services unless you have intermediaries who are ready to plead your case with them. Unless you have some kind of contact with the individual who is going to plead in your case and it all arises out of the congenital delay in the disposal of cases. Here I would not blame the British system at all. The British Government undoubtedly invented this system for us but they had a considerable standard of doing things. When they wanted to get anything done, they discussed it personally with A, B or C and they said that this is the decision, but ordinarily they did not want to dispose of cases quickly. That delay which was implicit in the system of files has increased tremendously now. I was given facts and figures by an officer of the Government of India as to the time taken in the disposal of a file today as compared with the time taken in the disposal of a file before independence and it was not very complimentary to our public services functioning today, but it is the reputation for integrity which is the most important thing. Actually, whether they have integrity, does not so much matter as reputation. What I was trying to say is that integrity is not measured by small bribes but by the spirit in which the work is done by the public servants. I can also recollect some experiences about the way things are done. I went to the Central Telegraph Office to send a telegram and from the time I stood in the queue to the time I was given receipt, it took me about 45 minutes and I was seeing how our Telegraph Offices were functioning. If it took one individual 45 minutes, then, obviously, time is very cheap with the public servants. This is also a matter of integrity. Integrity consists of doing one’s work conscientiously. A public servant is paid, might be, inadequately as said by a member, but that is no excuse for his delaying the work. He should try to get some more remunerative

job and clear away. It is no use sticking to the job and not doing the work because they are inadequately paid.

“With regard to the subject of criticism of civil servants in legislatures and newspapers. Now, in newspapers, statements are printed and in Parliament and Assemblies criticism is made. The public servant has no method of defending himself. I wanted to know how the public servant, who is criticised, can defend himself because it is possible that the public servant has been unjustly criticised. Can we suggest that in all such cases, a copy of the criticism is to be sent to the individual officer and he has to be asked as to whether he has anything to say, whether it is in a charge sheet or anything like that?”

Replying, the Chairman said, “The Ministers can make a statement with reference to this in Parliament, with reference to the observations made, containing what he has to say in reply.”

The previous member again said, “But he does not always know what the charges are”.

Clarifying further, another member said, “He has the right of making his statement on subsequent days on some statement made on some previous day against a particular officer. I wanted to just draw the attention of the house of one aspect of the service tradition. Our service tradition is prestige. Now, it does happen that whenever there is any delinquency, at least from my experience, I say, there is a general desire to suppress it. Though the action is taken in the name of prestige, what happens is that in certain cases action is not taken. Some injustice is done; they approach legislators and good legislators usually take very good care to go into greater detail and only when they are themselves satisfied, they bring the matter before the legislature. I say, this kind of thing is also happening in other legislatures too. I think it will be wrong to prevent all such cases coming up before a legislature for a discussion. There was a case of temporary embezzlement of Government money. The case was somehow suppressed and when it came to my notice I did ask the Auditor-General to go into that account. It was found out to be a case of temporary embezzlement. In the Public Accounts Committee, the Secretary of the Ministry concerned stoutly defended that case, when question was put as to why no action was taken in the case of temporary embezzlement, the only defence put forth was that since money had been returned, no action was taken. Now, in such cases, where they occur and information is received by a legislator, I doubt very much whether a legislator will not be failing in his duty if he does not act on such information simply because it is made available to him by some other source than by the head of a department or Ministry. That is a real problem that is facing a legislator who is conscientious and who wants to do his duty to the public and the Government. What should he do? Should he turn him out and shut his eyes?”

The Chairman observed, “There are several types of people—people who are prepared that their name may be disclosed; there are others who want to remain anonymous because they feel that will bring them into trouble. I take very good care myself to communicate things after I have checked up my information from various sources.”

Another participant was of the opinion that “The Press is one of the three safety valves of a democratic constitution. It is the duty of the Press to find out snake-pits wherever they are. That is the function of the Press. Undoubtedly, we have a code that will keep out the name of the individual officers in particular cases. We know that they are merely instruments of administration. But, if you want me to explain how better

understanding can be promoted, then, I will say that you can do that much better by better public relations. Unfortunately, public relations are interpreted only in one manner, namely, public relations for the individual Minister or public relations for the individual officer, not for the Government, neither for the cause. Public Relations Officers often come to us to get a good write-up for the Minister or an officer. When our people write something, no attempt is made to give the background. The only attempt that is made is to influence the man so that he hereafter changed his tone or tune. I say if public relations for which crores of rupees are being spent today by every Ministry, industrial undertaking, corporations, etc., if they were told that your job is not to build up the personality or the personal popularity either of the Minister or of the individual but that his business is to sell the administration, to answer questions on behalf of administration, I think 90 per cent of the misunderstanding that exists today will disappear. The pressmen are keen to do their job, but 10% do abuse that privilege. You will have that as you have that in any other institution. But if the Public Relations Officers do their job properly, you will find that the Press will do its job better."

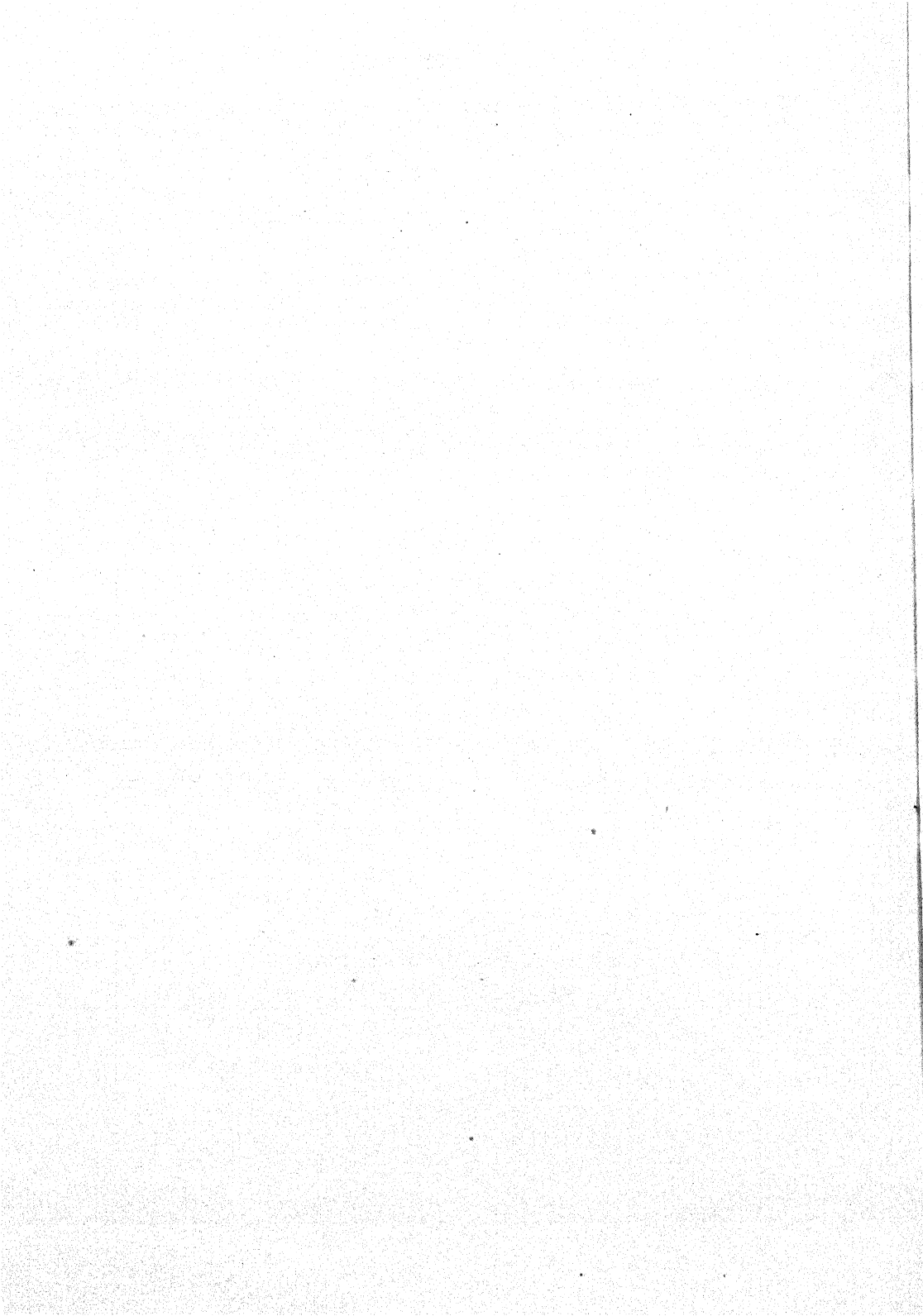
Concluding, the Chairman said, "Two points that I am going to raise, are : First, how does one ensure that the sort of thing that is communicated in this Conference comes to the notice of the authorities from time to time so that defects are rectified, that is to say, that necessary action is taken or the wheels are set in motion. Here, we are in a position to generalise our experiences and may be again the remedy will be some general sort of remedy like training and care in selecting and so on and so forth. Nevertheless, human nature being what it is, after we have laid down standards of conduct, I would not call them codes, but what is expected of good Ministers or good officials, and if it should then happen that there are lapses sometimes—how does one bring these lapses first to light and then to book? Though, partly it may be a case of study and research, but mainly it must depend on the readiness of people to give information to somebody. And, here I think, the fear complex works so universally that a very insignificant proportion of people are prepared to come forward and to stand by the information that they have initially given. And, therefore, whatever faults or lapses there are, seem to continue. I will illustrate this also, although it is not a full illustration. Some years ago, after the first election, a big industrialist came to me in great distress with a written application saying that he had not been given the proper user's licence and that he suspected that some new competitor of his had been given the licence because there were some restrictions and there was a quota. I thought that there was something that I could do to secure justice. He came from my own constituency and I thought it was my duty to take notice of his difficulty. I spoke to the then Chief Controller of Imports. I said : 'here is a man who has brought me a representation. I shall glad if you will look into it'. I heard nothing about this till about six months later. I met this man again in Poona when he called at my house. I asked him how he was getting on and what happened to his representation. He replied 'I shall ever rue the day when I came to you to complain about that. I did of course get that licence but for all further licences the Deputy Controller said, "your friend is a Minister. If you like you can go to him again".'

"He knew very well that the poor Minister could not go on talking to officials every time nor could he talk to the Minister on this kind of individual case. That is why I said it is not a full illustration. Even if the Minister had taken action by the time the case would have gone through the departmental enquiries and the Public Service Commission and so on and so forth, they would have found that this man's statement was unreliable and that the officer was not to blame. I cannot see any remedy to this kind of thing. I am quite certain that hundreds and thousands of the members of the public are in this position, that is to say, that they have no safeguards against vindictiveness.

"Secondly, there are no safeguards against the inevitable delay that takes place which leads finally to the escaping of the person against whom a complaint has been laid and certainly a businessman thinks twice before he makes a complaint. He would more likely choose to go on about his work by placating somebody. He is not interested in the morale of the public services. He is interested in his own business and profit. That is the chief difficulty. There is such a great veil of secrecy, that I, for one, do not see any remedy to this state of affairs."

The Director of the Institute, thanking the participants for their extremely useful contributions to the discussions at the Conference, said, "The participants represented a fairly wide section of different types of experience—of Public Services, Ministerial Offices and membership of high level bodies."

"The Indian Institute of Public Administration is indebted to the Chairman, Shri C.D. Deshmukh, for his invaluable help and guidance in arranging this Conference and for bringing to bear his wide and varied experience upon the deliberations of the Conference. He had been the Civil Servant, he had been the Minister, and he had been a Member of Parliament, he had been in a business of the kind in the Reserve Bank of India as its Governor and now an educationist. In a way, he represents the spirits of the Conference, and he has been undoubtedly a right Chairman of this Conference. I thank him again for his distinguished Presidency of this Conference."



MORALE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES



BACKGROUND PAPERS



INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW DELHI

PARLIAMENT AND THE CIVIL SERVICE

By

SHRI B. SHIVA RAO, M.P.

It may be useful at the outset to have a picture in broad outline of the relations between Parliament and the Civil Service in Britain from whom we have borrowed many of our constitutional conventions and practices. The British Parliament has supreme authority over the Civil Service. There is little direct contact between the two, except through Ministers of the Crown; and a civil servant, even when he appears as a witness before a parliamentary committee, or to assist in the scrutiny of a bill in the committee stage, does so on behalf of his Ministry and explains the details of policy or of course of action in terms which are in accord with the views of his Minister.

But behind the scenes, the Civil Service in Britain plays much more than a subordinate role. In the vicissitudes of party politics, civil servants—especially those who are closely associated with Ministers, both in the implementation of policies and in the preparation of cases for presentation to Parliament—have the great advantage of having served, at different times in their careers, under different Ministers.

The impact of parliamentary business on the Civil Service in Britain is indirect but far-reaching. A general election may mean the overthrow of the Government and the installation of the Opposition in office. In tendering advice to the Minister, therefore, a civil servant, aware of such a possibility, has necessarily to take into account the views of the Opposition and see that his Minister's policy and its subsequent justification are as invulnerable as possible.

Grooved in such a tradition, life in the British Civil Service fosters a certain detachment of mind and a capacity to take balanced views on controversial topics. A civil servant is certain that in all his relations with his Minister he is free to advise, and even to differ from him in absolute security that such matters will never be brought to the surface in a parliamentary debate. Guaranteed such privacy, he can afford to take, at the stage of preliminary discussion, an independent line of thinking, without being misunderstood or suspect. He thus ensures a continuity in the administration and becomes (in the words of a writer) "the repository of principles and practices which endure while Prime Ministers come and go". ("Parliament, a Survey", a symposium by J.J. Craik Henderson)

This brief account may seem, at first sight, somewhat extravagant in defining the primary functions of a civil servant. Nevertheless, in British practice, it sums up the qualities and outlook which the House of Commons deliberately encourages, despite the momentary irritations which their exercise may produce in the course of a debate or at question-time, in its Civil Service.

How far, one may ask, does the above description of the mutual relations between Parliament and the Civil Service in Britain accurately reflect the conditions as they obtain today in India? The answer is obvious and simple : very little.

We have, no doubt, a Civil Service in this country reared in many respects on the traditions and standards of the British service. As an efficient instrument for the execution of the Government's policies, its record during the last decade of our

independence is good. Our civil servants have frequently been called upon to deal with emergent and novel situations, and the response, by and large, has been creditable.

In the sphere, however, of relations between Parliament and the Civil Service, difficulties have arisen, to some of which a reference is made in this note. There are historical reasons for their existence. During the fifty years and more of our struggle for freedom, one of the first points to engage the attention of our leaders was an increase of the Indian element in the Civil Service. Success in this direction was, at first, tardy and slow; but even the introduction of a substantial Indian element made little difference to the structure, the conditions of service, the rights and privileges and, in general, to the outlook of the members of the service. One of the major hurdles to be crossed at every stage of our political advancement was the problem of safeguards to be inserted for their special protection in the Constitution. Right to the end, they looked to the Secretary of State for India in London for guarantees and assurances.

This was not the only source of friction and misunderstanding between Indian political leaders and the Civil Service. After the establishment of partially elected legislatures in the period between the two world wars, the civil servants played an even more active and decisive role. Senior men became Executive Councillors at the Centre and in the provinces, or Secretaries to the different departments of the Government, many of them holding, in addition to their official capacities, nominated memberships of legislative bodies. They both fashioned and implemented policies of the Central and provincial governments.

Despite, however, the disparities in views and attitudes between the official and the popular elements in the old legislatures widening, as the tempo of the national movement increased, the Civil Service was at least fully aware of the point of view of the elected representatives. Both inside the legislatures and outside the contacts between the two were frequent and, in a number of individual instances, intimate.

Since independence the Civil Service has lost most of its former glory and prestige. The new Governments in India have no doubt made good use of the rapidly thinning ranks of the old Civil Service and many of its members have displayed a commendable capacity for readjustment to the new ways of executive functioning. But a residue of the old suspicion and hostility towards them still remains. Official witnesses appearing before a parliamentary committee do not always receive the consideration that is due to them. As Sri Ashok Chanda has pointed out in his valuable book (on "Indian Administration"), "it is difficult for some members of Parliament to get rid of this past complex, and the attitude of some witnesses (before the Public Accounts Committee) does not always assist the necessary mental adjustment".

Time alone can bring about an improvement in this unsatisfactory relationship between members of Parliament and civil servants. More frequent contacts would probably facilitate such a development; but the gap today is wide.

Another factor, to which reference has been made in an earlier paragraph as exercising an influence on British civil servants in giving proper weight to the views of the Opposition, namely the possibility of a general election resulting in a change of the Government, has yet to make its appearance in India. In these eight years of independence under the new Constitution, with the sole exception of Kerala after the second general elections, both at the Centre and in all the States it has been a single party rule. There is nowhere functioning, or even within a sight, a real Opposition in the sense of an alternative Government with a positive programme of its own, distinct in vital respects from that of the Government in office. Our Civil Service is therefore without that

stimulus which experience of working under a different Government has brought to the British Civil Service.

This is a handicap which affects equally the approach of our Parliament towards all debates, in which civil servant's activities or conduct figure. In the House of Commons, seldom is a civil servant mentioned for adverse comment, unless his conduct is directly in question and, even under such circumstances, there is tolerance and restraint and a regard for the Civil Service in general. We have yet to develop a similar convention in our Parliament.

In recent months I have been struck with this sharp contrast in tackling a problem affecting civil servants in Britain and in India. The best way of indicating this difference in approach is to make a detailed reference to some of the significant features of a case which has attracted world-wide notice, the "Crichel Down" case which cost the Minister of Agriculture in 1954 his place in the British Cabinet. He felt obliged to resign, because of the faulty and improper procedure adopted by a number of officials in his Ministry, though he had personally no responsibility, except in a constitutional sense, for the decision of his Ministry. A public enquiry was held into the case and later the Prime Minister appointed a committee of three senior (retired) civil servants to recommend the action to be taken against five officials whose handling of the case had been criticised in varying degrees in the report. Finally, there was a debate in the House of Commons.

There was no suggestion at any stage of corruption or of *mala fides* on the part of the officials concerned. In the debate both the Government and leading members of the Opposition were agreed on certain principles; namely, that (a) the Civil Service should be satisfied that justice was being done to the officials who had committed "errors of judgment" and one of whom was, indeed, held to have been guilty of "deliberate" suppression of relevant information; and on the other hand, (b) the country should not be deprived of the services of experienced officials who had, at the worst, shown "an excess of zeal" in a particular transaction.

The Minister for Agriculture generously shielded his officers from harsh criticism in Parliament on the ground that he, as Minister, "must accept full responsibility to Parliament for any mistakes and inefficiency of officials in my Department, just as, when my officials bring off my successes on my behalf, I take full credit for them. Any departure from this long-established rule is bound to bring the Civil Service right into the political arena, and that we should all, on both sides of the House, deprecate most vigorously".

He refused to endorse the view of the Committee that his official advisers were guilty of "wilfully misleading him", though "grave errors of judgment were made", meriting "service censure and reprimand". Attention should be drawn, in particular to his final observation on the action to be taken against the officials concerned. He said: "The Committee was asked to consider whether, in order to maintain public confidence in the administration of Departments, any of the officers whose conduct was called in question in the report should be transferred from their existing duties to other posts. It was asked to take into account both the public interest and the efficiency of the public service and fair treatment of the individuals concerned."

Of equal importance were the recommendations of the Committee in regard to the principal official involved in the case: "his usefulness as a public servant would be impaired if he were to remain in his present post. We are therefore of the opinion that it would be in the public interest that he should be transferred to other duties. In making this recommendation we take into account the fact that his considerable

experience in other spheres of Government administration should provide him with undoubted opportunities of useful service elsewhere."

No action was recommended against the other officials whose conduct was the subject of the Committee's enquiry, because of its view that the censure implicit in the report and in the Commons debate was adequate punishment.

All sections of the House of Commons accepted the Committee's recommendations. This note may appropriately end with an observation made in the debate by a leading member of the Opposition, Mr. Herbert Morrison, who was a Minister in the last Labour Government and is an acknowledged authority on Civil Service problems. Mr. Morrison said : "The morale and the efficiency of the Civil Service can be hurt in two ways. It can be hurt by a failure to check something which interferes with its work and it can be hurt by an unjust denunciation of the whole service."

Sooner or later, if parliamentary democracy is to be a success in India, our Parliament will have to accept as a guiding principle Mr. Morrison's wise comment.

MORALE IN PUBLIC SERVICES

By

SHRI A. KRISHNASWAMI, M.P.

Morale Defined

It is generally assumed that morale is something which can be equated to a sense of satisfaction felt either by the individual or the group of people in whom we are interested; however, from a social point of view we cannot equate morale with satisfaction felt by an individual or a group. There are several ways of improving the morale of our administrative personnel; but not all methods of effecting improvements in morale are socially desirable. One can confer favours and privileges on a particular segment of society, increase its authority unduly, or improve its economic position at the expense of other groups and thus bring about an improvement in its morale. But when we are concerned with the improvement of morale of our existing administrative personnel, it is tacitly assumed that improvements in morale would be accompanied by improvements in performance. This has to be emphasized since not all participants in current discussions have an altogether clear conception of "morale"; sometimes even knowledgeable persons tend to treat improvements in conditions of service as something independent of improvements in performance.

Morale Through Performance

In considering this problem our emphasis has to be on both morale and performance. We have to ensure that fair treatment is meted out to services as a whole. We have to ensure that rewards bear a relationship to performance of each member of services. The question of ensuring fair treatment to the services in concrete terms boils down to a consideration of recruitment procedures, remuneration scales, and promotion prospects. Before entering into an analysis of recruitment procedures, it would be appropriate to have a picture of the number of employees of the Government of India in civilian occupations. According to the census of public employment brought out in 1955, the Central Government employs roughly 1.65 million; this includes employees of Posts and Telegraphs and civilians employed in the Defence Forces, but excludes those employed in the Railways, Life Insurance Corporation and the State Bank of India. Out of 1.65 million, only 40,000 earn more than Rs. 250 a month—an eloquent testimony to the genius and wisdom of successive Home Ministers who have been not a little responsible for the peculiar structure that has been evolved. A fair proportion getting less than Rs. 250 a month fall into the Class IV category. A large mass of the Upper and Lower Division Clerks get less than Rs. 250 a month. In real terms Rs. 250 a month today is equivalent to roughly Rs. 75 a month in 1939. If we are to employ more than 95% of our public servants on a magnificent salary of less than Rs. 75 per month with fairly narrow and limited opportunities for promotion, how is it possible to expect that our services will attract the best calibre or our employees will put forth adequate effort. It would be infinitely better if we have another look at the *ad hoc* expansion that has taken place and decide to reorientate our policies so as to attract quality rather than quantity. Administration would be cheaper and more efficient. It would be much better to recruit a smaller number and pay better, provide employees with better opportunities for advancement on the basis of performance than to have a large mass of ill-equipped and indifferent administrative personnel clustering around the corridors of the Secretariat. We have to realise that the basic problem that

faces us today is one of stopping recruitment of personnel at ridiculous salaries. Secondly, there is the question of narrowing the differentials between the All India Services and the other branches of Administration. Today there is an enormous gap between the boy who gets into the Indian Administrative Service and the boy who just fails to get into it. There is no reason why we should not use the Indian Administrative Services to cater to a wider variety of needs. People who are lower down can be offered a less attractive initial start with prospects of making good if they prove their worth by performance. There is no need for a separate Assistants' Examination so long as we can recruit the requisite number of candidates of the proper calibre from among those sitting for the Indian Administrative Services Examination. It would be infinitely better if the differentials in emoluments and prospects are narrowed down between the All India Services and the Subordinate Services. Today an Assistant, however bright and conscientious he may be, cannot hope to earn Rs. 800 in less than 15 years. An Upper Division Clerk can never hope to reach the Rs. 800 limit, except possibly at the far-end of his career and this too only if he is extremely lucky; but generally he cannot reach the grade of even a Section Officer in the Secretariat. Of course, a Lower Division Clerk can never hope to be an Assistant.

Structure of Services

But the question that we have to face is: Do we need to have two separate examinations, one for candidates appearing for the Indian Administrative Services and another for those appearing for the Assistants' cadre. For both these examinations the minimum qualifications prescribed are the same; candidates are not dissimilar in their basic academic qualifications. Surely if basic qualifications are the same there is some advantage in selecting Assistants from among those who appear for the Indian Administrative Services Examination. Even if the examinations are the same for the Secretariat Services, greater emphasis can be placed on written tests rather than on *viva voce*. Emphasis is placed on *viva voce* in order that the Administrative Services should consist of people who have the requisite personality and drive for becoming District Officers; clearly we cannot have as the Collector of a District even under a democratic dispensation a person who is incapable of saying "boo to a goose".

Initiative and Scope for Entrants

But a person who has done well in the written tests may none the less be a good Secretariat Officer; and therefore there should not be any bar in the way of his recruitment to the Assistants' cadre. Secondly, restrictions must not be placed on administrative personnel from appearing for competitive examinations provided they fulfil the requirements of age and qualifications. Thus a boy who has not had the good fortune of becoming a member of the Indian Administrative Services, but who is good enough to be an Assistant should not only not be debarred from appearing for the Administrative Services examination after he has entered the services, provided he satisfies other requirements, but should be encouraged to appear for it. The usual argument that is advanced, against allowing servicemen to appear for competitive examinations, is that they would be distracted from their duties and hence will not give of their best to society. But even if this be true, it can happen only twice or thrice in the life-time of an individual and the total impact on the efficiency of a department would be of the order of second smalls. On the other hand, the possibilities of moving from one cadre to another is desirable from the viewpoint of social mobility, thus helping to smash the caste consciousness of our bureaucracy; it would reduce the barriers between subordinate and superior services.

Method of Recruitment in Future

Another reform that should be effected and to which adequate thought has not as yet been bestowed is the reduction in the number of persons to be recruited annually.

Our policy should be to reduce the total number of persons to be recruited and to increase their basic salaries. Thus for the lowest clerical employments, instead of the Administration recruiting say 200, it should recruit only 100 and instead of paying a basic wage of Rs. 60, it should pay Rs. 100. Correspondingly, better performance can and should be insisted upon. The total cost to the Exchequer would be less in spite of the higher salaries paid. An additional provision should be made to enable existing administrative personnel to move into better grade not so much on the footing of seniority as on the basis of performance. But those of the existing personnel who are unable to get into this cadre should be given a longer time-scale.

Service Categories

As regards gazetted officers, who normally are entrusted with supervisory tasks, the essential elements in the new policy will have to stress the selection of people fit for promotion at a relatively young age. Thus an Assistant who, according to normal procedure, would reach the cadre of a Section Officer after ten years should, if proved capable of shouldering higher responsibilities, be promoted as soon as a vacancy is available. From the view point of society the output of such an individual would be greater at an earlier age in a responsible post. If we do not make our selections quickly, there is a danger of our selecting men too late when they have lost initiative and drive. As it is even deserving persons are promoted too late and too slowly, while even the less deserving get promoted by the sheer catalogue of years in service. It is time our Government became business-like and gave more weight to performance than to the negative virtue of seniority. The second revolution that has to take place in our approach is to realise that administration cannot be a non-specialist job. It is not. It was never so; and the British, who are supposed to distrust the expert, in actual practice pay more attention to him and give facilities for training than the Germans who burn incense at the altar of bureaucratic expertise. In terms of evolution under the British system of administration in our country, each department functioned as a compartment, and those in one department acquired expertise of that department. It was only the Indian Civil Service that shifted from one department to another; this system had many advantages which our supposedly revolutionary administrators tended to overlook. Under the old system service cadres were small and manageable; besides, the work of each cadre was homogeneous and the head of the department had the opportunity of judging the work of each individual. The members of the cadre acquired the necessary experience of the work assigned to that cadre. Thus an Assistant recruited to serve in the Home Ministry acquired knowledge of all the work done in that Ministry; his future was in that Ministry, and he developed almost a sense of personal loyalty to that department. Unfortunately and as a consequence of the ill thought-out steps taken by the late Mr. Gopalaswami Iyengar to constitute the Central Secretariat Service, we have today mobility both in the offices and among the officers. No Superintendent stays sufficiently long in one department to acquire knowledge of the files, to keep track of the various notes, and to aid the head of the department with information. Besides, his promotion depends not on the knowledge and expertise that he has acquired in a particular department but on the view the Home Ministry takes about the relative performances of persons doing entirely different types of work. Over 40,000 public employees are lumped into one cadre and an individual's prospects for promotion depends not so much on his individual performance in a department, but on a comparison of his work with the work of some other official in another department requiring often a dissimilar type of ability! Comparison between *unlike things* forms the basis of promotions in the Central Secretariat Services. The result is considerable chaos.

II

Checks and Balances

There are two ways open to us to resolve this bedlam. First, we should have promotions on the basis of performance and as far as possible within the same department.

Secondly, it stands to reason that we should provide for greater stability of senior personnel at least in the technical ministries of the Government of India. This can be achieved by the creation of Central Pools to which administrators are recruited on the basis of their records. The only qualification, and it is an important qualification, to this policy is that none of these pools must belong to a single service, say the Indian Administrative Service. But each pool must be composed of individuals on the basis of their true performance. There must be no reservation for a particular service within pools as during the days of the British Administration. The third requisite is that we should encourage the growth of new Science Services which should include people with proved merit as indicated by their post-academic performance, drive and initiative. Society should give them a status; and recognition of their services to the community should be given on a much wider scale than at present.

Basic Ratiocination within Services

This is an approach which gives more weight to social utility and judges individuals on the basis of performance rather than on seniority. It is opposed to the usual pattern of Civil Service recruitment and promotion, and is likely to cause flutter in the doves of traditional wisdom and bland perfection. If this is to work, proper safeguards will have to be devised against the inter-play of personal prejudice, family and caste affection, loosely termed as nepotism and communalism. We have to effect changes in our methods of assessing performance. Confidential reports of officers on their subordinates should lay greater stress on performance rather than on negative virtues like seniority. Today in most cases such reports are nothing else but a catalogue of non-essentials and are highly subjective in character. If the assessment of performance is to be a basic requirement for promotion, surely it ought to be as far as possible objective and must be so in order to inspire confidence in the subordinate services as a whole, and any fair-minded outsider who may be called upon to proffer advice to the executive. But in any large organisation where no quantitative measures of performance can be evolved, tests for judging performance have their limitations. Judgments in many cases will have a subjective element. This does not mean that we should not attempt to evolve objective methods of appraising performance; one should not empty the baby with the bath-tub. It is for the administration to devise in the case of each individual department tests which can be reasonably objective. It may also help if the Conference of Administrators now meeting in Delhi could spend some time for a discussion on the objective criteria for assessing performance. Even if this attempt does not succeed, the attempt would still be worthwhile and would contribute towards the education for our Ministers and public opinion. Let us realise that the efforts of pioneers yield dividends only slowly.

Social Justice

But it must be recognised that apart from considerations of performance an Administrative Service has to take account of social factors; and in this connection provisions for giving opportunities to scheduled and backward classes has a value which cannot be overlooked. The principle underlying reservation of jobs in a service is that by and large social groups are on the average equally capable and given opportunities would produce administrators as able as those produced by the fortunately circumstanced. However, it must be borne in mind that along with the acceptance of the principle of social justice, there must also be a recognition of the need to ensuring performance. Is there a conflict here between social justice and performance? I venture to think that the conflict is not as serious as it is made out to be by certain protagonists of merits. It is possible to reconcile these two principles provided we recognise the areas in which they can be allowed to operate. Reservations must operate at the points of entry of all services that may be constituted including even the Administrative Science services. But once an individual has been recruited it is clear that

performance should be stressed and his promotion should depend on performance. However, in judging performance, we must ensure that the scheduled and backward classes do not feel that their superiors are motivated by prejudices which are latent in our social fabric. In particular such reports may sometimes if not always be reviewed by officers higher up; this would in all probability act as a salutary check on the display of social prejudice by a superior. Unfortunately we have not been large-hearted or wise enough to recognise the need for reserving jobs at points of entry in all services; and when an agitation takes place our Administrators flaunt examples of one or two individuals who have been given accelerated promotions and who happen to belong to backward communities. What is needed is the provision of opportunities for backward communities and not the granting of condescending patronage to one or two individuals in a certain community.

Services and Parliament as a Tripartite Arrangement

There remains the important question of the relationship that should subsist between the Civil Service and Parliament. Recent events have stressed the need for our rethinking and laying down the rules that should determine the relationship between civil servants and ministers on the one hand and parliament and the civil service on the other; particularly in a Welfare State where administrative functions are on the increase, each of these branches has to understand the areas of freedom within which it can operate.

Civil Servant, Minister and Parliament

The main function of a Civil Service is to implement the policies laid down by the Government of the day which in our country is the Cabinet. Whatever might be the merits of an order, even if it be opposed to the law and Constitution, civil servant cannot question the propriety of the order once it has been issued or the policy underlying it. Is he then to be only an automaton? No, indeed. His duty is to bring to the notice of the Minister the impropriety or unconstitutionality or illegality of the order. But if he is overruled he has to carry it out without demur. It may, however, be pointed out that a direct order from a Minister is a rarity. Of course if such an order is issued, the civil servant will carry it out. But difficulties arise and they are bound to arise in a modern State where civil servants in the absence of a direct order have to carry out the policy by taking steps which they consider proper for its implementation.

If any question is raised in Parliament regarding the propriety of that policy or the method of its implementation the civil servant cannot reply and it is on the shoulders of the Minister that the burden falls. The Minister should always take, and if he has the necessary character and integrity will always take, the responsibility for a policy since the Cabinet or the Minister is the creator of policies.

Their Inter-play

But as regards the method of implementation three possibilities can occur.

- (1) First, the civil servant may act *bona fide*, use his discretion and does not deviate from the policy laid down;
- (2) He makes a *bona fide* mistake but the rights of individuals are not seriously affected by such a mistake; and
- (3) He acts knowing that the Minister does not approve of his action or without the knowledge of the Minister.

In all cases the Minister is constitutionally responsible. This has to be emphasised particularly in view of recent attempts made to drain constitutional responsibility of its content,

Constitutional responsibility implies that those who are in the limelight and lay down policies should act with courage and accept blame.

And Basic Ethics in Such an Interplay

Parliament expects the Minister in every case to take it into full confidence and narrate what has occurred and the action proposed to be taken departmentally. Here the morale of the services can be affected in one of two ways. Where the Minister attempts to avoid responsibility, even when the civil servant has acted properly in accordance with the policy laid down, but exception is taken to it by Parliament, the failure of the Minister to protect and defend the civil servant must necessarily lead to the breakdown of the *morale* of the civil services. It can also occur where the civil servant commits a *bona fide* error and the Minister fails to take responsibility.

In the third instance envisaged, the civil servant is entirely at fault and departmental action taken against him will improve efficiency rather than lower the morale of the services. Parliament for its part has also to practise a healthy restraint in discussing individual cases of civil servants. It is only where the conduct of a civil servant is of such a character as to affect the traditions or involves a question of policy that the issue should be raised and discussed in the House.

Thus the Foundations of Public Administration

But in the final analysis, morale does not depend on correct rules of recruitment and proper methods of promotion, important though they are for improving and sustaining it. The morale of our services depends on the recognition by ministers, parliament, the press and the public that public servants are no longer the tools of an alien bureaucracy. They are our agents for carrying out policies laid down by Parliament and the Cabinet. They must be made to feel that they are doing something useful to society, and that in implementing policies laid down by the Government and Parliament, they are discharging their duties not for any gain. They must be encouraged to exercise such discretion as is necessary to promote the objectives of policies. Not every act of a civil servant should be viewed with suspicion. Of course this does not mean that the discretion exercised by a civil servant should not be questioned. What requires emphasis and reiteration is that the civil servant should not have a feeling that all his actions all the time are being subjected to an inquisitorial process.

Checks and balances are the natural accompaniments of a healthy administration but this does not mean that every action of an official should be viewed with distrust. We have to place confidence in some person somewhere and draw the line at some place. Unless this is done we would be getting into a morass of forms and men continually clogging the administration and adding to its cost! If we are not careful we will have more watchers than doors!

Surely all our efforts must be directed towards creating a feeling that Parliament Ministers and civil servants, are members of a family who while they keep a jealous watch on each other do not forget the obligations they owe to one another.

WHITLEY COUNCILS FOR INDIA

By

SHRI B. SHIVA RAO, M.P.

Among the terms of reference of the First Pay Commission, presided over by Justice Varadachariar in 1946, was specified the following important point :

“The machinery for negotiating and settling questions relating to conditions of service which may arise out of differences between Government and its employees.”

In dealing with this important problem the Commission observed :

“As Government is in a position of authority and advantage, it must recognise the importance of convincing its employees that the representations and grievances of the latter will receive due and immediate consideration from Government. We lay particular stress on this point because the evidence before us disclosed absolute distrust, not to say despair, on the part of most grades of public servants as to their ever receiving a fair response from Government to their representations. Every effort must be made to secure co-operation consultation, discussion and negotiation between the staff and the Government. This can be best achieved if some machinery is kept in constant operation through frequent meetings.

“A status of harmony can result only from the constant association of representatives of both sides in an interchange of views and suggestions so that discussions, even over contested matters, may result in friendly compromise. Both sides must meet on terms which enable free discussion to take place. The rank and file of the service should feel that questions affecting them are being looked after in an orderly way through discussion between their representatives and senior officials; and even when the officials are not able to agree with the staff representatives, they would do well to explain the reasons why.”

At one stage of its enquiry, the Commission seemed greatly impressed with the need for establishing in India some machinery analogous to the Whitley Councils in Britain but was unable to make a recommendation to that effect. As a compromise, it suggested that—

- (a) in the adjustment of differences between the State and its employees, the best course will be to prevent such differences developing into a dispute;
- (b) even when a question has become the subject-matter of a dispute, it will be best to secure its settlement without resort to any external machinery, *i.e.*, by negotiation between the two sides;
- (c) if and when it becomes necessary to seek outside help, it must rather be for purposes of mediation and conciliation than for adjudication; and
- (d) if attempts at conciliation fail, adjudication must be sought by voluntary or agreed submission rather than by compulsory reference.

This vital aspect of the problems of administration has received very little consideration from the Government. “The absolute distrust”, verging on “despair”, has not been dispelled to any appreciable extent, as far as I can judge, in these ten years.

From my contacts with Government employees, especially in the lower income groups, I am led to the conclusion that it continues to be widespread. The unhealthy impression prevails among a large number that the Government is not moved by appeals for fair and just treatment, but yields only to threats of strike or some other form of direct action.

Since 1947 conditions in India have changed radically in every sphere of life. Independence has given a new sense of self-respect and of individual dignity to all classes of people. The frequent emphasis laid on the elimination of caste and class distinctions by those in authority has had its own reactions on Government employees, as much as on others outside their ranks.

A second factor is the exercise of the vote on the basis of adult suffrage, every five years, in the general elections. The implications of such concepts as a Welfare State and the socialistic pattern of society, accepted by the Government as its goals, are far-reaching. All these are powerful considerations, further strengthened by the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in the Constitution.

Moreover, the several additions made in recent years to the statute book in the field of economic and social legislation have altered the outlook of all employees, whether in Government service or outside. The frequent comparisons made between the public sector and the private sector in regard to scales of salaries and conditions of service have not left Government employees unaffected. In all disputes in the private sector between employees and employers, the former have a right to negotiate on an equal footing, whether the disputes relate to wages, recruitment, working conditions, or to any other matter affecting their employment; they can seek the assistance of tribunals in the event of failure to reach agreement through direct negotiations.

It is against such a background that one must approach the present problems of Government servants in India. The present Pay Commission has before it some of the principles mentioned above included in one of its terms of reference, namely, of the Government being a model employer; of the scales of remuneration and service conditions being such as are necessary to recruit and retain an efficient service; and of the acceptance as legitimate of comparisons with the remuneration of persons employed on broadly comparable work outside the Civil Service. It is not for me to anticipate or forecast the recommendation that the Commission may make in its report.

But in my personal opinion, conditions are so changing that many Government employees, if given the option, would probably change over from Government service to business or industrial careers in well-established concerns. Government service, as such, has no longer the glamour which it once had for the educated classes for a variety of reasons. The scales of salaries offered by some business firms or industrial undertakings are more generous than in Government service. Initiative, resourcefulness and integrity receive quicker and more adequate recognition in this field of employment than in Government service.

It may be useful to refer to management-labour relations in statutory corporations in Britain, since we have a large number of such corporations functioning in India.

British statutory corporations are required by Parliament to devise a system of joint consultation with their employees for evolving a satisfactory procedure for collective bargaining. There are, also, in most cases, statutory responsibilities imposed on such corporations for the training and technical education of the personnel; but the basic principle of collective bargaining is a common and essential feature,

In regard to matters other than the terms and conditions of service, there are provisions for joint consultative committees at various levels, such as (1) improvement in methods of production, efficient use of maximum production hours, economy in the use of materials; (2) physical conditions of work, safety, health and welfare of employees; (3) the workers' knowledge of the trading position, policy and developments within the industry; (4) employment problems such as discipline, time-keeping, absenteeism and labour turnover; (5) questions of training, education and promotion.

We seem to be groping in this country for some definite policy in dealing with the problems of the rank and file in the Secretariat of the Government of India. Over a year ago, Staff Councils were constituted in the different Ministries to deal with staff problems. But they are advisory bodies, with very restricted powers and jurisdiction. They are utterly inadequate for the requirements of the present situation in India. It is vital for smooth and efficient administration that the Government should proceed in the spirit of the Whitley Councils in Britain and vitalise these Staff Councils.

In Britain the objects of these Whitley Councils are defined in the following terms :

"To secure the greatest measure of co-operation between the State in its capacity as employer, and the general body of Civil Servants in matters affecting the Civil Service, with a view to increased efficiency in the public service combined with the well-being of those employed; to provide machinery for dealing with grievances, and generally to bring together the experience and different points of view of representatives of the administrative, clerical and manipulative Civil Service—to which one ought nowadays to add 'specialist' as well. Within the extremely wide limits thus set, the Council is empowered to deal with all matters affecting the conditions of service of the staff, and in particular to determine the general principles governing such conditions as recruitment, hours, promotion, discipline, tenure, remuneration and superannuation."

The greatest stress is laid on joint consultations between the representatives of the staff and those of the Government. These consultations are intended : (a) to provide the best means for utilising the ideas and experience of the staff; (b) to improve office machinery and organisation and provide opportunities for the full consideration of suggestions by the staff on this subject; (c) to encourage the further education of civil servants and their training in higher administration and organisation (and one would add now, in the more efficient performance of their present jobs); (d) to enable the staff to take a greater share in and responsibility for the determination and observance of the conditions under which their duties are carried out; and (e) to consider any proposed legislation so far as it has a bearing on the position of civil servants in relation to their employment.

Membership of the Whitley Council is considered to impose certain obligations on both sides. From the official side it is accepted that the following conventions have a sanction almost amounting to definite rules: (1) Not to deal unilaterally with substantial points of interpretation of agreements or with points arising from agreements which were not foreseen when they were made. Such matters should be kept as much within joint control as the main issues; (2) to ensure as far as possible that departmental administration of national agreements is in accord with their letter and spirit; (3) to remember that they owe a special loyalty to staff side organisations in respect of agreements not altogether acceptable to the staff which the official side may have been very anxious to secure, and that they would not do anything which would help dissident associations to use these agreements as sticks with which to beat the others; (4) never to do anything of interest to the staff without the fullest consultation with the staff side.

Similarly, the staff accepts in practice the restriction not to go to Parliament or to agitate in public on any issue so long as there is the fullest opportunity of discussions through the whitley machinery.

This note may appropriately conclude with a passage from a recent article by Mr. D. Houghton, M.P., who has been working on the Whitley Council for a number of years on behalf of the employees :

Whitleyism has been extended and strengthened in the favourable conditions of post-war Britain. A new generation of "Whitley minded" Treasury and departmental establishment officers has arrived. They have dispensed with much of the old form, with Staff Side content, because formal constitutional sanction is no longer necessary to meet most of what is done in the name of Whitley. The new machinery of negotiations has been improvised within the structure of the old. It is more flexible, in some respects more comprehensive, and is adaptable to almost every requirement.

It has brought about a more contented Civil Service, which is certainly what both sides wanted. The cumulative total of constructive work done by Whitley Councils at all levels during the past thirty-five years is enormous.

MORALE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES

A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

By

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It is generally recognised today that there is no such thing as a *fixed* human nature good or bad, competitive or co-operative or aggressive or submissive, which determines human behaviour in a *specific manner*. There is no evidence that men *always* act on self-interest nor that material or monetary gains are the most important incentives to the worker, in industry or elsewhere. Improvement in the physical or biological environment of the worker (in lighting, ventilation, noise, heating, humidity, etc.) does not necessarily mean *satisfactory* conditions of work much less that it makes the workers happy. Individuals do not function as isolated units but constitute small or large groups which have their own dynamical properties and relationships. The social norms and values of a culture help steer individual or group behaviour and operate like a 'psychic gyroscope' to keep it in a straight course.

A proper understanding of this behaviour would imply the appreciation of the complex conditions in which it occurs. The problem of morale in a modern civil administration as in an industrial system is largely the study of the worker, his adjustment problems, his motivational systems, his relationship to his supervisor, to the group to which he belongs, his feeling pride in the job, his degree of his participation and his emotional attitude, not only towards the members of his group and towards the hierarchy to which he belongs but in general to his family adjustment, his sources of satisfaction, etc. The problem is basically a problem of personality adjustment, motivation and group-dynamics. A high or a low morale would thus appear to be a function of a number of variables, the most important of which would be his adjustment levels and his group belongingness as also his belief in and identification with the objectives for which he works. The following seem to be essential for understanding morale :

1. Morale refers to a condition of physical and emotional well-being in the individual or in the group that make it possible for him (or the group) to function with energy, confidence and enthusiasm.
2. Morale refers to the condition of a group where there are clear and fixed group goals and purposes that are *felt* to be important and that are integrated with individual goals. There must also be confidence in the attainment of these goals, confidence in the means of attainment, *i.e.*, in the leaders, associates and finally in oneself.
3. Morale is a function of the integration and co-operation among the members of the group. Here, aggression and hostility, if they occur, are expressed against forces frustrating the group rather than towards the individual within the group.
4. Morale also implies the degree of *participation* in the determination of the goals or objectives of the work.
5. Prestige and *recognition* are invariably related to morale.
6. The feelings of security and anxiety directly determine high or low morale.
7. Adequate leadership is an important factor in building morale.

8. Group-belongingness, *i.e.*, inter-relationship in the group or in the hierarchy is another factor.

9. Personality of the individual and patterns of his adjustment in response to various situations of stress would determine his morale. Here one would have to consider the manner in which the individual meets his frustration and other situations which imply a threat to his ego or his self-esteem.

10. Morale is adversely affected by authoritarian leadership or atmosphere. This has a tendency to damage or reduce initiative and creativeness in the worker. There is experimental evidence that achievement levels are greatly reduced in such a situation. On the contrary, there is also evidence of the increase in achievement levels in an atmosphere of co-operation and participation.

11. Opportunities for development and improvement in status and position inevitably raise morale, just as dead-ends and blank alleys depress it.

12. Experimental psychological studies of incentives that affect morale suggest the following *in order of their importance and effectiveness* :

1. Security, 2. Satisfactory working conditions, 3. Satisfactory working companions, 4. Good boss, 5. Opportunities for advancement, 6. High pay, 7. Opportunities to use one's ideas, 8. Opportunities to learn and improve one's job, 9. Good hours, 10. Easy work.

The prevailing idea that money is the strongest incentive is quite misleading. The strongest incentives are psychological and social in character provided always that the minimum standards of living are already secured and the workers are living above the basic psycho-biological and material wants.

13. Generally speaking incentives that raise or depress morale vary from one culture to another as also perhaps from one individual or group to another. There is no one ideal incentive for all; one person may value money whereas another may consider leisure, security or pride in the job or recognition of achievement as stronger stimuli. For instance, it is well known that a raise in pay may not necessarily raise morale. Even if most of the motives are monetized, money is still an *index* or a *symbol* of what is desired rather than a thing of value itself. Vague dissatisfactions often express themselves in demand for more money, when the need is actually for something else which is not made available. Because money is a current token is much better understood than psychological intangible, such as prestige, pride or job satisfaction, participation, group feelings, etc.

METHODS OF STUDY

The following are some of the important methods which are used in the investigation of morale of individuals as a member of a group :

1. Questionnaire and rating method
2. Sociometric techniques
3. Clinical methods
4. Observational methods, and
5. Interviews (specially non-directed interviews)

Some of the studies reveal that :

1. High morale is associated with higher occupational level and higher income.
2. With economic security
3. Morale related to age ("Overageness" is associated with low morale)

4. With favourable attitude towards employers
5. With recognition and prestige
6. Early training in habits of obedience to superiors. Reinforced by awareness that one's fellows also obey may sometimes lead to high morale but when these habits of obedience spell strong feelings of dependence they make for low morale and are consequently detrimental, specially where operations call for individual initiative and enterprise.

COMMUNICATION SYSTEM IN THE HIERARCHY

There is a close connection between the ease and facility of communication and high or low morale.

Communication is a mode of social interaction. It assumes different forms according to the level and pattern of organisation of the group in which it occurs. It may refer to 'verbal, explicit and intentional transmission' or to indirect, unconscious and symbolic forms of behaviour which tend to influence relationship-organization in a group. The presence of the person in authority or an evaluative judgment or even casual remark from him about the other who is for the time being situated in a subordinate position would serve to establish a communication system of complex dimensions. Broadly speaking, these dimensions are structured according to (1) the immediate contemporary situation; (2) the status and roles assumed by persons in this situation; (3) the social and cultural factors and value systems of the persons involved; and (4) the unconscious or unverballed cues that influence reactive behaviour.

Communication would thus imply (1) 'the capacity of an individual to communicate his feelings and ideas to another, (2) the capacity of groups to communicate effectively and intimately with each other', and (3) transmission of 'power' or 'authority' or 'order' from a superior to subordinate at successive levels of hierarchy in an organisation. There are numerous difficulties at different stages of the communication process. The communication line may be too long; the information may suffer distortion (conscious or unconscious) at various levels; the quantum of information transmitted may be insufficient and misleading, it might be emotionally charged, that may be phantasy elements encouraging rumours or partisan propaganda intended to disrupt worker or management organization; or in case of suspicion and distrust the information may not be believed.

These difficulties may be overcome by taking the worker into confidence, that is, by letting him know the nature of the job and its relation to other jobs and its purposefulness, his relation to the firm and his progress or his prospects. He may have access to authoritative and authentic sources of information—the channels of communication should be easy and free and not blocked. A two-way channel allowing for free flow of information in the shortest possible time is the best mode of communication. This is achieved by regular conferences with supervisors and executives meeting in small groups (5-10 persons) for frank exchange of ideas and suggestions and recommendations. It is important that suggestions and recommendations at these conferences are received, appraised and considered for action by the head. This gives a *feeling of recognition* to the groups and adds to their esteem and status, which in turn makes for a greater involvement on the part of the workers.

Some difficulties of communication occur on account of the existing pattern of job titles and the rigidities of class, service, cadre and grade pay differentials. In such case "the primary necessity is to have a close and inter-acting relationship between each two contiguous levels—not sharp and wide distinctions—thus making for easy movement

of abler personnel upward and in general facilitating communication.....what is needed is an improvement in the *hierarchies*. Improvement in the amount of work is one objective, better quality of work is another; expansibility is another; capacity to delegate, is still another." In this way, communication assumes not merely a two-way process but also the possibility of a vertical movement when achievement levels are improved. Another important aspect of communication concerns the patterns of authority communication. According to one of the studies conducted by the writer (at the M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.) authority communication is directly related to high or low morale. The communication of praise or blame has different effects on different kinds of subordinates. For instance, the superior-power person is less likely to be pleased as the result of being praised than the subordinate; and so also he is less likely to be disturbed by hostile act than the subordinate. Again, the superiors would tend more (a) to question the sincerity of the praise act and are suspicious about it, (b) seek for psychological explanation of the hostile act more than the subordinate. The superiors would also be more dominant in their approach and less restrained in the style of their communication. Differences in morale are related to the attitudes of the superiors and the subordinates. In this study cultural differences were noticed between Indian, American and Canadian samples.

SOME PROBLEMS FOR RESEARCH

1. A study of the effects of power relations in the hierarchy, specially the study of facilitating as well as distorting mechanisms in communication.
2. Adequate leadership in a democratic civil service personnel. In this connection study of some of the neurotic distortions of power (e.g., the neurotic obsessional authoritarian; the boss who has no mind of his own; the subordinate whose aggression hampers his own work, etc.)
3. The methods of transmitting details of information through a segment of hierarchy.
4. The effects of class and caste feeling on morale and the methods of eliminating these.
5. A study of the relations between the higher personnel and the so-called rank and file with a view to exploring the best means of establishing confidence leading to higher morale.
6. Methods for securing impartiality and objectivity in the public servant as also 'emotional integration' between the public services and the community, the press, etc.

MORALE IN PUBLIC SERVICES IN INDIA

By

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Introduction

It is being realised increasingly in many progressive countries that efficiency of public administration depends not only upon the effectiveness of the organizational arrangements and administrative procedures or upon the skill of the personnel but also upon the level of morale which exists among public employees. In India, however, the problem of morale has not received as much attention at the hands of the Governments and Public Authorities as is necessary in the interest of gearing up the administration for the highly complex tasks which the country faces in the context of a developing parliamentary democracy and an evolving Welfare State.

Morale may be defined as the readiness of a group of persons to work enthusiastically and persistently for furthering the purpose and for achieving the objectives of the organisation in which they are employed. Morale depends upon the physical, mental, and emotional health of the employees, upon their active consciousness, and confidence in the purpose and the objectives of the organisation in which they are working, and upon their trust not only in each other but also in the administrative leadership. All these things, it may be added, are conditioned by a number of factors : (a) personnel policies and practices regarding recruitment, training, terms of employment, working conditions, and employer-employee relationship; (b) quality of administrative leadership; (c) attitude of political leaders towards public servants and the prestige of public services as well as of Government (or Public Authority) in the community.

In this paper a few comments are offered on these factors.

The Impact of Personnel Policies Upon Morale

In India, recruitment to the higher and the middle rungs of administration is carried on by Public Service Commissions which began to come into existence from the mid-twenties of the present century. The working of some of these Commissions has, however, not been free from public criticism and they have yet to win more public confidence in their integrity than has been the case so far. Again, in regard to lower jobs under the Union and State Governments to which recruitment is carried on by the departments concerned, recruitment procedures should be improved substantially in the interest of fair play and merit. Furthermore, the present position in regard to the recruitment of the personnel in most of the local bodies is far from satisfactory from the viewpoint of merit. Malpractices in recruitment of personnel, under political or friendly pressures, shake down morale among the employees of these authorities. It may be suggested, therefore, that the personnel of the Local Authorities should also be recruited by Local Commissions which should be established in every State. The members of the Local as well as of the State Commissions should be selected with good care in order to build up greater confidence of the employees and people in their objectivity. The Commissions should be assisted by Research Units to revise and evaluate recruitment policies and procedures.

The objective of a good training programme should be not only the provision of vocational skill to the employee, but also the building up of his morale by making him actively conscious of the real purpose and objectives as well as of the significance of good human relations within the organisation in which he is working. Training has to be

continuous process throughout the career of an employee. In India, training programmes, so far, have been inadequate from the viewpoints of skill and morale. Governments and Public Authorities have not fully realised the importance of induction courses for the new employees in regard to the purpose and significance of work upon which is going to be engaged and also of the need for reorientation for the employee after a period of time in order to improve not only his skill but also his understanding of the objectives of the organisation. It is true that recently the Union Government has decided to set up a National Academy in place of Departmental Training Schools for a more comprehensive training of civil servants than has been the case so far but this Academy is primarily meant for entrants to the higher civil services. Active steps are needed for utilising the device of training for building up the morale and skill of middle-level and the lower employees of the Government which are very large in number and suffer from low morale. Public employees need to be made actively conscious of the significance of the social and political forces in the community and also of the role of their respective administrative organisations in the community. In 1944, rethinking on the problem of training was done in Britain by Assheton Committee and as a result of its recommendations training programmes had been considerably extended and strengthened in that country. More recently, the Federal Government of U.S.A. has enacted a measure for strengthening the training arrangements for Federal employees. It is time that the role of training in the building of morale should receive more active and earnest consideration at the hands of Governments and Public Authorities in India. A high-powered committee should be constituted to go into the question of training comprehensively.

The problem of emoluments and retirement benefits has been exercising the minds of many public employees in India during the last several years. They have been feeling that their emoluments are too inadequate to enable them to have even the necessities of life. Financial worries and frustrations depress their minds. At times, they resort to strikes or threats of strike or to other pressure tactics. It will be conceded that this state of affairs is by no means conducive to the existence of enthusiasm among the employees for their work and of strong loyalty to the organisation in which they work. There are several ways in which the existing salary structure of public employees needs to be improved in the interest of morale. First, a minimum living wage should be guaranteed to the lower employees so that they can have reasonable financial means for their physical, mental and emotional well-being. Secondly, the differentials between the highest and the lowest salaries should be lowered mostly by the scaling up of the lower salaries for the sake of counteracting the feeling of casteism which prevails today partly because of the high differentials. Thirdly, the present rigidity of salary structure in the Union and the State Governments as well as in other Public Authorities should be relaxed by periodic reviews of the salary scales. Pay Research Units should be set up for this purpose. These Units should keep an eye on fluctuations in the cost of living and the outside wages so as to suggest, whenever necessary, to the Governments or the Public Authorities the need for making changes in the pay structure.

Inadequacy of public finances is no doubt a big limiting factor in regard to the improvement and rationalisation of salary scales. While this factor cannot be ignored altogether much stress should not be laid upon it in the interest of morale. Higher morale will result in better efficiency of work and this will more than compensate for the extra cost to the Management.

It will be a highly desirable thing if the representatives of the leading associations and trade unions of public employees are consulted by the Government or a Public Authority on the question of revision of the terms of employment. An Advisory Committee of such representatives should be appointed by the Management concerned and consultations should be held with it from time to time whenever the need for the revision of salaries arises in terms of the changes in the cost of living.

It is felt by many public employees, particularly by those at lower levels, that opportunities for promotion are very inadequate because of the small number of posts in

the higher grades, and also because of too many high-grade posts being filled by direct recruitment. This situation not only depresses their minds but also gives rise to a rigid stratification in a public service, creating a feeling of casteism among its members. In the interest of providing proper incentives to employees and for counteracting casteism among them, promotional opportunities should be fair in public employment. Again, promotional procedures in several public services require revision. Proper evaluation of the work of an employee, besides seniority, is an important question which needs more attention than is the case at present. Political pulls and pressures or friendly recommendations in the field of promotions are injurious to morale.

A feeling of reasonable security in regard to one's job helps the maintenance of morale. At present, however, a substantial number of employees, whether of the Union Government or of State Governments or of several Public Authorities, have been working in a temporary capacity for a number of years. While it is true that in an organisation consideration of flexibility in staffing arrangements demands that some appointments should be on a non-permanent basis, it is highly doubtful whether such a large number of temporary appointments in India are really necessary for the sake of flexibility. Uncertainty of tenure is depressing to the morale of the employees concerned.

Measures for staff welfare have an important part to play in the promotion of the physical, mental, and emotional well-being of a group as a whole and of its individual members. In India, however, not all Governments and not all Public Authorities have given an adequate attention to staff welfare. It is only very recently that the Union Government has appointed staff Welfare Officers and it is yet too early to say whether the staff welfare organization is well-equipped and imbued with the right spirit to carry out substantial programmes. So far, many State Governments and Local Authorities have not realised the importance of welfare measures for their employees and have, therefore, not taken even preliminary steps in this connection.

Conditions in which the employees carry on their work have also something to do with the maintenance of pride in their organisation and efficiency in their work. Visits to some public offices create an impression in one's mind of overcrowding, untidiness, and, at times, even of squalor. Active measures are needed in these cases for the improvement of physical environments in which the employees carry on their work.

Many public employees complain that cases relating to personnel matters are not decided by the authorities as speedily as is desirable. It is not unusual for some personnel cases to remain undecided for months, creating frustration in the minds of the employees concerned. If unnecessary injury to morale is to be avoided, measures are needed for eliminating delays in the disposal of personnel cases. The personnel office in an organization should be adequately manned by well-trained persons to deal with the personnel matters fairly and speedily. The existing practice of appointing to the personnel office civil servants who have no special training in personnel work, is partially responsible for a lack of proper approach to personnel matters and for unnecessary delays in the disposal of personnel cases. Again, too much centralization of control in personnel matters and the pettyfogging attitude of Finance Department need to be corrected if personnel cases are not to hang on unnecessarily over long periods.

A machinery for joint consultations between the Management and employees when worked in right spirit, can yield valuable results in the field of morale as a sense of participation is developed among the employees. The Whitley Councils in Britain bear a testimony to this fact. In India, staff councils have been set up by the Union Government in various departments. But these councils have not functioned satisfactorily due to a number of reasons. The staff associations have been hostile to the councils since they have not been given representation on them. Again, the Cabinet has not delegated any substantial powers to these councils to take final decisions. Furthermore, there is no national council to co-ordinate the work of departmental councils and to take decisions on matters concerning all the employees of the Union

Government. Finally, neither the staff associations nor the Management have yet developed mutual understanding and a creative outlook which will make staff councils function substantially.

In only a few States joint consultative machinery has been set up and the results so far have been far from satisfactory. In Local Authorities also the position is similar.

Comprehensive and sustained efforts are therefore needed to build up a system of joint consultations in public employment and to work it in the right spirit. This will tend to raise morale substantially.

The Impact of Administrative Leadership Upon Morale

The calibre of leadership in an administrative organisation also has an impact on the morale of public employees. In the past, considerable attention used to be given to the building up of the qualities of leadership among the new entrants to the I.C.S. and to other higher services. Sending of I.C.S. probationers to the well-known British Universities, formal and informal training given to probationer by experienced Collectors with well-developed personality and the stimulating guidance of the senior officers to probationers in the other higher services—in these various ways administrative leadership used to be built. Now the situation has changed. Not only the old standards are tending to fall but a new type of leadership to suit the needs of the administration in a democratic Welfare State has not been adequately evolved. The new administrator needs a broader vision, a stronger motivation for constructive work, a higher capacity to inspire and to lead as well as more readiness to have frank discussions with the subordinates, to delegate powers to them and to take a lively interest in their welfare. These qualities are to be in addition to some of the old ones which are still needed, e.g., the capacity for hard work and for taking quick decisions, the maintenance of high standards of integrity and of devotion to duty, the possession of mental stamina to face administrative difficulties and cultivation of a sense of fairness in dealing with subordinates, i.e., to praise or to reward or to admonish them as the occasion demands.

The Indian Universities and schools have failed largely so far to take comprehensive measures for providing opportunities to the students for personality development. This makes the task of executive development still more urgent for the Government to tackle. Recently, an Administrative Staff College has been set up at Hyderabad for providing training in administrative leadership. Much more, however, needs to be done if the country's administration is to have an adequate supply of senior public servants, possessing the requisite administrative qualities. The Indian Institute of Public Administration could perhaps supplement the efforts of the Administrative Staff College by providing appropriate courses for executive development for junior public servants. Again, some of the State Governments should also take effective measures for setting up programmes for executive development while the Local Authorities in a State should make common arrangements for running similar courses. The senior public servants should be willing to spare more time, hard pressed though they are with administrative work, and take more interest in the building up of morale among the junior officers.

In short, there should be a growing consciousness that the morale of public employees is affected substantially by the quality of administrative leadership existing in a public agency.

The Impact of Political Leadership and Public Opinion Upon Morale

In a democratic Government a Minister is responsible for the working of his department to the Cabinet, to the legislature, and to the people at large. In actual practice, however, he cannot run the department entirely by himself and has to depend upon higher civil servants for advice in regard to the formulation of the policies. Again, it is the latter who, under the general scrutiny of the Minister, chalk out the detailed programmes of work in accordance with the policies approved by the Cabinet and the

legislature. In other words, a Minister brings to the department general ideas as the result of what he or the Cabinet or his party thinks that the people need, while the higher civil servants provide the expertize for testing these ideas from the viewpoint of practicability. The latter have then to mobilise the resources at the disposal of the administration for translating ideas into realities. The relationship between Ministers and civil servants is thus very intimate. The morale of the higher public servants, however, is conditioned by the nature of this relationship—*i.e.*, whether it is inhibited by misunderstandings or whether it is based upon mutual confidence and understanding. Parliamentary democracy being yet in its infancy in India, maladjustments in the relationship between political executives (Ministries, *etc.*) and public servants are not unknown in a Government or in a Local Authority. Reference to a few cases in this connection may not be out of place here. A few years back, some Ministers in the Punjab Government indulged frequently in public criticism of the higher civil servants regarding their integrity and loyalty. This appears to have had a irritating effect upon the morale of the higher civil servants in the State. They represented to the Chief Minister that if any Minister had complaints about any public servant, these could be dealt with within the department concerned instead of there being vague and sweeping criticisms in the public. Again, some time back in that very State the Transport Minister and his departmental Secretary developed strained relations and the Minister criticised publicly his Secretary. Another case took place in Madhya Pradesh where an open rupture took place between the Development Minister and his Secretary, resulting in the tendering of resignation by the former. ●

Maladjustments in the relationship between public servants and the political executives are generally due to the fact that the two partners do not have mutual trust. It will help matters if Ministers and other political executives are selected not merely on political considerations but also on their capacity to lead the administration properly. At the same time, steps need to be taken for a more effective inculcation of democratic sensitivity among the public servants, particularly the higher ones. But this is not enough. Good human relations need to be cultivated by the two partners in various ways deliberately.

The attitude of the legislators and other politicians towards public servants has a bearing on the problem of administrative morale. Instances are not wanting about the over-critical attitude which legislators sometimes adopt at times in their criticism of public services. This is attributable partly to some of the lingering suspicions among the politicians about the loyalty of public servants to democratic ideals, partly to the prevalence of rather low standards of integrity in certain sectors of administration and partly to the delays in the disposal of administrative work. Necessary steps are, therefore, needed to remove these causes so that the politicians, while exercising effective democratic influence and control over administration, do not indulge in any bitter criticism of bureaucracy with its depressing effect upon morale. The legislators should be more careful in investigating the complaints against public servants, while the public servants should try to maintain higher standards of integrity, courtesy and efficiency to escape much of the present criticism at the hands of the legislators.

Again, if politicians try to meddle in administrative affairs by putting pressures on Ministers or on public servants, it will not be conducive to morale among public employees. Just after independence there were widespread complaints about the meddlesomeness of politicians in administrative matters. This shook down the morale of public servants. The political party in power, however, initiated certain steps for preventing, or at least reducing, political interference in administration. While the situation at present seems to have improved to some extent, political pulls and pressures still operate, particularly in those States where the Cabinets are either weak or are too obliging to the party-men for one reason or the other.

Morale depends also upon the prestige which public servants enjoy in the community. In the past, public servants used to enjoy a high prestige, particularly before

the thirties of the present century when the nationalist movement was weak and people used to respect bureaucracy not only because of high standards of integrity and hard work which civil servants maintained but also because of the great power which they wielded. In recent years, the prestige of the public services has been going down on account of a number of factors. First, people are not prepared any longer to tolerate any discourtesy of highhandedness from any public servant. It cannot be denied that many public servants have yet to develop a proper regard for the feelings of the common man. Some public servants become too conscious of the power which they wield. Even in England, a maturer democracy, an incident (Crichel Down Case) took place a few years ago when some public servants were found guilty of unnecessary irritation and even of arrogance in their dealings with a citizen over the question of disposal of a piece of land. If such incident can happen in a highly-developed democracy like that of Britain, where citizens are highly vigilant and conscious of their rights, there is no wonder that similar incidents happen much more frequently in India. Effective measures are therefore needed to cultivate proper outlook among public servants towards the public. At the same time, through more effective public relations arrangements people should be kept better informed about the accomplishments and limitations of the administration. This will make people adopt a reasonable and realistic attitude towards public employees.

Another reason for public servants not enjoying proper prestige is the absence of high standards of integrity among them in a country where the people expect the administration to maintain standards of ethics even higher than those of the community itself. Cases of dishonesty, waste of public funds and partiality in administrative dealings and transactions bring down the reputation of public servants. Some steps, both of preventive and curative nature, have already been taken in counteracting corruption but the situation is still unsatisfactory in several administrative agencies.

The low prestige of public servants in India is also due to delays in administrative decisions and transactions. If applications or administrative cases keep on hanging for months or years, the persons concerned will not have much respect for public servants. Some steps have been taken to improve efficiency but the situation remains far from satisfactory. The Union Government set up an O & M organization a few years back and this example has been followed by a few State Governments. But the results achieved so far have not been satisfactory and administrative delays continue to a large extent. A more effective use of O & M operations for revising organisational arrangements and administrative procedures, more readiness for delegation of powers within the administration, more attention to the improvement of skill and morale of the public personnel—all these things deserve attention. More administrative efficiency will raise prestige of public servants which will, in its turn, improve morale which will increase further efficiency. Things are thus interlinked.

It may also be pointed out that the prestige of the Government depends also upon the standards of integrity, clear thinking and democratic responsiveness of the ministers and legislators. For instance, if political leaders do not formulate policies clearly or indulge in partiality and corruption, common man will lose confidence in the Government which also implies that he will not also have confidence in the public servants. Very recently in the United States there were charges of corruption against the Principal Adviser to the President. He was a political appointee but the public allegations against his integrity brought down the prestige of the whole administration in the eyes of the people, to a certain extent. The non-political employee of the Federal Government also began to lose ground in public estimate. Ultimately, the gentleman concerned (Mr. Sherman Adams) left his post, much to the relief of not only the Republican Party but also of the public servants in Washington. In India, the political parties will do well to select candidates with more care so that more men of high integrity and calibre are chosen for public offices in the interest of an efficient democracy. Again, both the political parties and their representatives should build up high standards in regard to public

activity as well as adopt a constructive attitude towards administration in every part of the country.

Conclusion

While the people, the parties, the politicians and the public servants should pay serious attention to the general factors, discussed above, which influence morale, it will also be highly desirable that the personnel division in an administrative organization should be well-equipped to conduct morale surveys among the employees. Various techniques like questionnaire, observation, interviews and clinical methods can be used to assess the position in regard to morale in an administrative agency. The reports prepared by the personnel division should receive active and earnest attention at the hands of the political executives and the senior administrative officers. Analysis of the situation should be followed by the active and sustained application of suggested remedies. Let it be remembered that morale is a very sensitive thing—it can go up and come down very quickly, depending upon the operation of various factors, or upon even some of these, as analysed in this survey.

